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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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EDITED BY

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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TWO NOTES ON *HAMLET*

I

Ham. For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a good kissing-carrion,—have you a daughter?
Pol. I have, my lord.
Ham. Let her not walk i' the sun: conception is a blessing, but not as your daughter may conceive. Friend, look to't.—*Hamlet*, II, ii, 181–5.

Perhaps the idea in Hamlet's mind will be clearer if we suppress the question that he asks and the answer that he receives, for these are obviously unnecessary and serve merely to interrupt the flow of thought. The sentence would then read: For if the sun breeds maggots in a dead dog (being a good[1] kissing-carrion), let not your daughter walk i' the sun: conception is a blessing, but not as she may conceive. The first reference to the sun (as breeding maggots in carrion) may or may not apply to Claudius; but the second, "let her not walk i' the sun," is, I take it, a seriously meant warning to Polonius ("Friend, look to 't") to keep Ophelia out of the King's presence; and for a clear reason—"conception is a blessing, but not as your daughter may conceive."

This interpretation of the passage has some sanction from Hamlet's earlier use of the phrase, "I am too much i' the sun," meaning, it would seem, I am too much in royal favor, or in the royal presence. Moreover, it may receive some sanction from the course of events up to the present. Ophelia, obeying the secret injunctions of her father and her brother, had, since the day of the Queen's marriage, some two months past, returned unopened all of Hamlet's letters, and had denied him access to her; and for this new and unkind treatment of him, she had offered no word of explanation. In the meantime, as the Queen's favorite, she had been much at court and in the presence of Claudius. At the end of two months, Hamlet had forced his way into her private chamber, and seizing her by the wrist and holding her at arm's length, had perused her face "as he would draw it." The result of that close perusal was that "He raised a sigh so piteous and profound as it did seem to shatter all his bulk, and end his being." Now, it is preposterous to assume that he knew Ophelia was rejecting his suit merely to satisfy her father and brother. He may have concluded, therefore, that she had rejected him because of his recent ill fortunes (not only political, but physical, for during these two months he had been acting strangely—note that the King had sent for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern), and, consequently, that she was altogether worldly-minded. We, of course, know that this suspicion was unjust, but Hamlet did not share our fuller knowledge of the facts; and, through his mother's fall, having lost his faith in womankind, he was in no condition to judge Ophelia mercifully. Moreover, to this suspicion, his recent perusal of her face added the sure knowledge that she lacked strength of mind. Naturally, therefore, Hamlet fears that if Ophelia is constantly in the presence of Claudius, she may be in peril from the temptations of "that adulterate beast." That Claudius knew well how to seduce we have the testimony of the Ghost:

> With witchcraft of his wits, with traitorous gifts
> O wicked wits and gifts that have the power
> So to seduce!

If this interpretation of Hamlet's warning to Polonius is correct, it helps us to understand Hamlet's subsequent treatment of Ophelia. In the so-called Nunnery Scene (III, i), he is commonly regarded as cruel and unnecessarily insulting. Some of his remarks are addressed to womankind in general rather than to Ophelia in particular; but the key to the scene may be his anxiety to secure Ophelia from Claudius. That anxiety seems to be the hidden source of such remarks as:

[1] Many editors prefer to read: "Being a god kissing carrion."

Ham. Are you honest [= virtuous]?
Oph. My lord?
Ham. Are you fair?
Oph. What means your lordship?
Ham. That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.

Ham. I did love you once.
Oph. Indeed, my lord, you made me believe so.
Ham. You should not have believed me. . . . We are arrant knaves, all; believe none of us.

Perhaps, too, this idea underlies his oft-repeated injunction about the nunnery: "To a nunnery go, and quickly, too."

This interpretation saves the Nunnery Scene from being a mere exhibition of cruelty; and in so doing, it renders more plausible Hamlet's attitude towards Ophelia in the last act, in which, after leaping into her grave, he declares:

> I loved Ophelia; forty thousand brothers
> Could not with all their quantity of love
> Make up my sum.

In other words, this notion that Hamlet feared lest Ophelia might be seduced by Claudius, and that he was concerned for her safety, gives a unity to the love story in the play, and renders Hamlet's character infinitely more beautiful.

It may be interesting, for comparison, to note the latest interpretation of this passage, by Professor Dowden: "Hamlet ironically justifies the severance by Polonius of Ophelia from himself: all the world is evil, even the sun has the basest propensities; if a dead dog is corrupted by the sun, how much more your daughter by me." Professor Dowden assumes that Hamlet knew Ophelia was rejecting his suit at the direct command of her father. This does not seem to me to be consistent with Ophelia's statement that she had denied him access to her, with his visit to her closet, or with his complete loss of faith in womankind. It is an assumption unwarranted by any evidence in the play.

II

In *Hamlet* V, i, 299, appears the question:

Wilt drinke vp vessels? (Q. 1.)
Woo't drinke vp Esill? (Q. 2.)
Woo't drinke vp Esile? (F. 1.)

Since the first quarto was obviously taken down "by the ear," *vessels* merely indicates how the stenographer heard the word; and *Esill* and *Esile* doubtless more nearly represent the word as Shakespeare wrote it. Yet its meaning is far from clear, for "as it stands it represents nothing in the heavens above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth." Furness, in his Variorum edition of the play, says: "With the exception of 'the dram of eale,' no word or phrase in this tragedy has occasioned more discussion."

Two explanations of the phrase have been advanced: the first supposes that some river is meant; the second, that *Esill* (or *Esile*) is an error for *eisel* meaning vinegar. Scholars who advocate the first theory (including Hanmer, Capell, Steevens, Malone, Boswell, Nares, Caldecott, Knight, Elze, Halliwell, Keightley, and others) hold that to drink a potion of vinegar "is utterly tame and spiritless in a place where anything but tameness is wanted." Those who advocate the second theory point to the facts that Shakespeare in *Sonnet* 114 uses "drink up" in the sense "to drink, to quaff"; and that in *Sonnet* 111, he refers to drinking "potions of eisel," meaning vinegar.

I wish to show that the occurrence in *Sonnet* 111 of the striking idea of drinking vinegar may, in view of the studies of Beeching, lend plausibility to the re-occurrence of the idea in *Hamlet*.

In his excellent edition of the *Sonnets*, Beeching has shown that many of them date from a later time than Sir Sidney Lee believes. He bases his argument on the use of parallel phrases: "Every writer knows the perverse facility with which a phrase once used presents itself again; and Shakespeare seems to have been not a little liable to this literary habit. It is not uncommon for him to use a word or a phrase twice in a single play, and never afterwards. There is a strong probability, therefore, if a remarkable phrase or figure of speech occurs both in a sonnet and in a play, that the play and the sonnet belong to the same period. Now the greater number of parallel passages hitherto recognized, are to be found in *Henry IV*, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in *Hamlet*."

The evidence presented by Beeching in support of this theory is convincing. I must refer my readers to his Introduction (pp. xxiii–xxviii), and to his Notes, in which he points out numerous repeated words and phrases. Even Sir Sidney Lee dates *Sonnet* 107 as late as 1603, since "it makes references that cannot be mistaken to three events that took place in 1603." This unmistakable date is significant, for there is a rough chronological sequence in the group of sonnets addressed to a man, and the later sonnets of this group are obviously separated from the earlier ones by a considerable lapse of time (for instance, *Sonnet* 109 records the passage of three years). The strong note of personal sorrow which characterizes the later sonnets is well in keeping with Shakespeare's tragic mood which followed the joyous comedies *Much Ado, As You Like It,* and *Twelfth Night.* I do not believe that to explain Shakespeare's abandoning comedy in favor of tragedy we must suppose that he had suffered some great personal sorrow. Yet Professor Dowden's well-known theory that in his tragic period Shakespeare was speaking from "out of the depths" finds an echo in *Sonnet* 90:

> Then hate me when thou wilt; if ever, now;
> Now, while the world is bent my deeds to cross,
> Join with the spite of fortune, make me bow,
> And do not drop in for an after-loss:
> Ah, do not, when my heart hath 'scaped this sorrow,
> Come in the rearward of a conquered woe;
> Give not a windy night a rainy morrow,
> To linger out a purposed overthrow.
> If thou wilt leave me, do not leave me last,
> When other petty griefs have done their spite,
> But in the onset come: so shall I taste
> At first the very worst of fortune's might,
> And other strains of woe, which now seem woe,
> Compared with loss of thee will not seem so.

Now, if *Sonnet* 107 was, beyond a doubt, written in 1603, and if the test of parallel passages gives to other sonnets at the end of this group a date of 1600–1603, we may be justified in concluding that possibly *Sonnet* 111 was written during the same period—was contemporaneous with *Hamlet.*

In *Sonnet* 111, the drinking of eisel is represented as being supremely distasteful. To realize Shakespeare's attitude towards the idea, one must read the passage in full:

> Pity me then, and wish I were renew'd;
> Whilst, like a willing patient, I will drink
> Potions of eisel 'gainst my strong infection;
> No bitterness that I will bitter think,
> Nor double penance, to correct correction.

Clearly the drinking of eisel is used by Shakespeare as the very type of something bitter and repulsive. This is a sufficient reply to the objection of those who contend that "to drink a potion of vinegar is utterly tame and spiritless." And if we can accept the theory that *Sonnet* 111 was written at approximately the same time as *Hamlet,* we may feel reasonably sure that in the play Shakespeare was not referring to a river, but was giving expression to a notion then prominent in his mind, namely, that to drink up eisel was a supremely repulsive task.

It is, perhaps, going too far to suggest that this may have been the result of an actual experience. Yet, since eisel was administered to those who had been exposed to the plague, possibly Shakespeare, in his capacity as a public actor, had been exposed to "infection," and had been required by his physician to drink up "potions of eisel." The bitter experience, it may be, found expression in the two passages cited, and then faded from memory.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

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AN EARLIER VERSION OF THE ROLAND MIRACLE

The miracle of the sun, which stays its course while Charlemagne takes vengeance for his peers slain at Roncesvalles,[1] has been generally accredited to the story of the Old Testament battle under Joshua. But it can be found elsewhere, and in an account which closely connects it with the *Roland* legend.

[1] *Roland,* ll. 2447–2481.

In an anonymous continuation to the chronicle of Moissac, added towards the middle of the eleventh century, we read once more of the Spanish campaign of King Charles ("Carolus rex"), the submission of several cities by their Saracen ruler, Ibitaurus, and the surrender of various hostages, among whom were Ibitaurus' son and brother. Relying on the genuineness of these acts, Charles led his army as far as Saragossa, only to unmask the treachery of the Moslems. For "dum in illis partibus moraretur, comissum est bellum fortissimum die dominica. Et ceciderunt Saraceni multa milia. Et de ora nona factus est sol ora secunda." From this scene of victory, news of a revolt among the Saxons caused Charles' speedy return to the Rhine.[2]

In spite of the brevity of its record, our chronicle furnishes enough incidents to forecast the situation of the first part of *Roland:* Charles' invasion of Spain, the proffered submission of the Saracens, who nevertheless retain Saragossa, the selection of hostages from the Emir's household (they are sons in *Roland*).[3] Up to this point both chronicle and poem practically agree with Eginhard's testimony.[4] But what follows, the fight on a Sunday, in the neighborhood of Saragossa, and the slaughter of the Saracens, is wanting in Eginhard, though the *Annales Laurissenses* make mention of a battle in general terms. As for the miracle of the sun all texts are silent save our chronicle and *Roland,* and in *Roland,* as we know, the battle with its attendant circumstances is reserved for the story of Charlemagne's revenge.

It will be noticed that the eleventh century chronicle omits all reference to the attack on the Christian rear-guard, an omission which is not surprising, since the Roncesvalles fight does not figure in the chronicle of Moissac, the main source of our text. This text, then, would offer a version of the Spanish invasion, which is partly confirmed by older, authoritative records, and in part owes its origin to poetic invention. Because of the commingling of fact and legend which it would present, we might perhaps discern in it a step in the process of epic development, a step which it probably would not take alone, but which had already been hazarded in other documents. Such an assumption would naturally lead to the conclusion, that the Sunday battle and the miracle of the sun had entered into popular tradition by at least the middle of the eleventh century. Therefore the presence of the miracle in the *Chanson de Roland* would not necessarily be due to our chronicle. The author of *Roland* would have taken it out of the epic material which had already gathered around his subject. In any case we should not consider him as its inventor any longer, its inventor in the sense that his inventive powers had been prompted by the story of Joshua's victory over the Amorites. That similitude had occurred to some other imaginative mind, several generations before the tales of the war in Spain and the defeat at Roncesvalles had moved him to give them a definitive form in the *Chanson de Roland.*

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[2] Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist.,* Scriptores, vol. XIII, p. 262, ll. 4–8.

[3] *Roland,* ll. 5, 6, 28, 29, 39–43, 145–150, 190, etc.

[4] See Eginhard's *Vita Caroli Magni,* and especially the *Annales* which go under his name, as well as the *Annales Laurissenses* (Pertz, *op. cit.,* Scriptores, vol. I, pp. 158, 159), for the name of the Saracen ruler, Abuthaur, or Abithaur (also Abitauro).

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF IMMERMANN

The following letter by Karl Immermann, at present in my own possession, has never been published:

An den Herzoglich Sachsen Meiningschen Hofrath u. Bibliothekar Herrn Ludwig Bechstein, Wohlgeboren zu Meiningen.

Hoch geehrter Herr Hofrath!

Ich beeile mich, auf Ihr geneigtes Schreiben vom 9ten d.M. zu erwiedern, dass mit dem November sich wahrscheinlich eine Lücke bei dem Düsseldorfer Stadttheater ergeben wird, in welche Herr Rottmeyer, seine Qualificationen für das Fach des Liebhabers und jugendlichen Helden vorausgesetzt, einrücken könnte.

Ich habe zwar schon viel Verdruss und Undank von jungen leuten erfahren, deren Ausbildung ich mir angelegen seyn lassen, indessen muss man, so lange man dem Theater Teufel sich ergeben, in diesfallsigen Bemühungen nicht müde werden.

Das erste wäre, Einsendung des Rollenverzeichnisses und Angabe der Forderungen. Was das erste betrifft, so ersuche ich Sie, dasselbe zu revidieren, eventualiter zu rectificieren, damit mir kein illusorischer Catalog zugeht (wie leider sehr häufig der Fall). Hinsichtlich der Forderungen erwarte ich, dass diesselben müssig[1] sind.

Mit aufrichtiger Hochachtung,
Ihr ergebener
Immermann.

Düsseldorf,
d. 14. August 1835.

From 1824 to 1827 Immermann was judge of the Criminal Court at Magdeburg. On January 23, 1827, he was appointed Counsellor of the Provincial Court at Düsseldorf, where he went in March of the same year and remained until his death, August 25, 1840. His life in Düsseldorf was made eminently tolerable by his association with the members of the Academy of Art, and extremely useful through his invaluable services to the German stage in connection with the Düsseldorf Stadttheater.

Immermann's first connection with the theatre in Düsseldorf was in 1829, when he superintended the performance of his *Trauerspiel in Tirol.* In 1832 he went at the task of elevating the stage in the town of his adoption in earnest, and on October 8, the theatre was opened, by subscription, with a prologue by himself and Moreto's "Donna Diana." The first "Mustervorstellung" was a performance of *Emilia Galotti,* on February 1, 1833. The people of Düsseldorf were pleased with the attempt, and Prince Friedrich and a number of leading citizens then established the Düsseldorf Stadttheater with Immermann as intendant and Felix Mendelssohn as director of music. On October 28, 1833, the new theatre was opened with Immermann's *Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm im Theater,* Beethoven's *Fest-Overture,* and Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg.* For lack of public support it closed March 31, 1837, with a performance of Halm's *Griseldis.*

[1] The leading players received from 33 to 84 Thaler a month.

Julius Rietz had in the meantime succeeded Mendelssohn as musical director. Aside from operas and lighter pieces, the dramas of Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare, Calderon, Tieck, Immermann, Kleist and Lessing received special attention and, to judge from contemporary criticism, were performed with remarkable excellence. There is no indication that Rottmeyer ever joined the company, and the only other published reference to Bechstein is in a note of March 20, 1834: "Wiederholung der 'Stella,' welcher der Professor O. L. B. Wolff aus Jena und der Dichter Bechstein aus Meiningen beiwohnten."

The interesting features of Immermann's connection with the theatre at Düsseldorf are the assiduity with which the public nagged, the obstacles with which he had to contend, and the conscientiousness with which he performed his self-imposed obligations. Accusations of those "Nebenansichten" referred to by Lessing in the "Ankündigung" to his *Dramaturgie* were not lacking: it was thought that Immermann was exerting himself in order to receive a call from Friedrich Wilhelm III to the management of the Royal Theatre at Berlin. True or not, the call never came and Immermann worked with intelligent industry until there was no longer any money. The people spoke of his theatre as the "high-brow" stage, and took more interest in the plays of Bauernfeld, Schröder, and Angely than in those of Schiller, Calderon, and Shakespeare.

The German stage from 1830 to 1835 was in a deplorable plight. The Berlin Hoftheater under Graf Redern (1825–42) left everything to be desired. Schreyvogel had done as well as he could at the Vienna Burgtheater (1814–32), in view of a censorship that went to absurd lengths in its severity; but his successor, Deinhardstein, was insignificant. Tieck did much for the Dresden Hoftheater, but the intrigues of men higher up made the case hopeless. And the situation was no better at Hamburg or Mannheim, München or Weimar. Immermann's financial failure was, under such conditions, next to certain; he achieved, however, unqualified artistic success.

And he did this because of his good sense and

sincerity. He secured a complete release from his legal duties so that he might devote all of his time to the cause that lay so near his heart. He did not employ "stars" but people of promise. He took Goethe and Schröder as his models. He visited the best theatres in Germany and took notes. But what is vastly more important, and what was at that time a rarity, he had rehearsals. He would first read the play to the players with comments, then followed individual and ensemble rehearsals until everything was perfect. But he was fighting against odds; and the end was inevitable. Devrient once said that, under any circumstances, Immermann would eventually have lost interest in the matter, as did Goethe. However that may be, his intendancy of the Düsseldorf Stadttheater is an inspiring chapter in the history of the German stage. He made propaganda for a high and natural type of acting, gave the public a taste for classicism when it did not know what it needed, and made stage versions of great plays that are not even now wholly superseded.

Allen Wilson Porterfield.

Columbia University.

Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage. By Mrs. C. C. Stopes. London, The De La More Press [Sept.], 1913. xiii + 272 pp.

This book deserves the most careful attention from scholars, because Mrs. Stopes has, within the past few years, somehow (to use one of her own expressions) impressed the public with the one idea that wholly possesses and consumes her, namely, that she is a profound Shakespearean scholar. No better evidence of this could be found than the greeting which *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* received when it appeared a few weeks ago. The *Athenaeum* (Sept. 27, 1913, p. 323) hailed it with unstinted praise. It presents us, the reviewer declares, "with a large collection of documentary evidence duly authenticated with references. The book will take its place with those of Halliwell-Phillipps and Fleay, Mr. Fairman Ordish and Mr. E. K. Chambers, among the histories of our stage." The *Times* (Sept. 18, 1913, p. 385) is not so flattering, especially as regards the biographical section of the book; but it feels compelled to bow to the verdict that "Mrs. Stopes is a first-class archivist and record searcher." Passing over that portion of the book dealing with biography, of negligible value, I propose in this article to examine into the validity of the claim set up by Mrs. Stopes and some of her reviewers that *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* is a contribution to scholarship.

The book purports to represent original research and discovery among archives. So far from the truth is this, that every important document between its covers has been printed by others, several of them many times, and some of them for over a hundred years. In nearly every instance, the compiler's method has been to use the printed work of original searchers, and to print from these as if from the original documents themselves, without giving the slightest credit to the genuine discoverers or mention of previous publication. The pretence from the beginning to the end of the book is, that the documents therein contained are first-hand discoveries. 'Tis true that, in a few instances, credit is given to others for having printed a given document, but even here the abstractor and compiler of the volume under discussion puts up the emphatic claim that she has relied upon the original source for her copy (Preface, p. x). A comparison, however, of the contents of her book with the originals, or with trustworthy prints of them, reveals the astounding fact that *not a single document in the book can be depended upon as correct.* As a matter of fact, Mrs. Stopes appears, in more than one instance, incapable of reading the manuscript she purports to print. Waiving her idiosyncrasy of insisting on an imaginary orthography, punctuation, and capitalization, in preference to the form of the real document or a reliable print (a fact in itself sufficient to shake the confidence of any scholar), what shall we say of such readings as, to take one at random, "allowynge of maides" (p. 146) for

"allcurynge of maides"? The former reading is meaningless, and might have been avoided by a reference to any of the reliable prints of the document. In this same document as printed by Mrs. Stopes (she avers from MS. Landsdowne, xx, fol. 10) there are no fewer than twelve errors, of one kind or another, in the first ten lines.

Of much graver concern than spelling and punctuation is the omission of words, phrases, and clauses, and the arbitrary substitution of others, and the sudden breaking away from the wording of the document without notice that we are being presented with an abstract, or fragments strung together, in place of the whole record. The very abstracts are sometimes printed under headings which convey the idea that the wording of the document has been followed (*cf.* p. 179, which also exposes other characteristic faults of the book).

To be more systematic, however, let us examine in order the principal documents in *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage,* printed without credit to others, or as claimed (avowedly or silently) by the author as original discoveries.

On p. 8 are two notices of the Earl of Leicester's players at Gloucester (1569-70, 1571), incorrectly worded and uncredited. First printed (1910) by Mr. J. T. Murray in *English Dramatic Companies,* II, 280.

On p. 12-13 appears the Royal License to James Burbage, *et al,* May 7, 1574, in part only, phrases and clauses being drawn together without any indicated breaks or omissions, notwithstanding the fact that Mrs. Stopes considered this "too important a document to be relegated altogether to the chapter on 'Authorities.'" It is to be particularly noted that Mrs. Stopes gives us to understand that she copied this license from MS. Sloane, 4,625, fol. 198, to which alone she refers it in a foot-note. An examination of this MS. discloses the fact that it is Rymer's own late (and inexact) copy from the patent enrolment under date of 10 May, and does not agree in a single line with Mrs. Stopes's "document," which in fact appears to be nothing more than a garbled print from the copy as originally published from the Privy Seal by J. P. Collier in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1st ed. 1831, 2nd ed. 1879, to which all references in this article will be made), I, 203. Now, instead of crediting Collier, Mrs. Stopes gives his reference to MS. Sloane, 4,625 (which Collier mentions in connection with Steeven's print of it, *Shakespeare's Works,* II, 156), and even copies his note as if it were first-hand knowledge with her, namely, that "the original Privy Seal is in the Chapter House at Westminster." If any further proof were wanting that Collier was her sole aid in concocting a "license" for Leicester's Company, this evidence ought to suffice. The Privy Seal was in the Chapter House at Westminster when Collier wrote his note (1831), but, as every Shakespearean scholar knows, or ought to know, it is no longer there nor has it been there for over a half-century! It is in the Public Record Office, properly filed among "Privy Seals, 1574." The enrolled patent is also there, Patent Rolls, 16 Eliz., pt. 9, m. 4. This is not all. We are generously informed by Mrs. Stopes that "The copy in Rymer's 'Foedera' omits all reference to the Lord Mayor of London." Turning to the hall-marked article (*Burbage,* etc., pp. 12-13) in expectation of the emended copy, we search in vain for any reference to, or mention of, the Lord Mayor of London,—yet we are inferentially informed that that was at least one of the excuses for reprinting the "document" from the source rather than from Rymer. A little unsteady from this shock, we falteringly take up the *Foedera,* and are struck dumb for our pains. Rymer did not print the 1574 license in any form whatever! This is an illuminating example of the "finds" in this book. It does not seem to have occurred to Mrs. Stopes that search work and discovery consists in something more than appropriating the results of genuine scholars, making predatory excursions into the domains of experts, and manufacturing source references when they do not exist.

Immediately following this document (p. 13) there is a Privy Council license to Leicester's Co., 22 July, 1574, also a letter to the Lord Mayor concerning the same, not credited. These should be placed to Chalmer's account. See

Malone's *Shakespeare* (Boswell, 1821), III, 431. A little later (pp. 15-16) Mrs. Stopes *re*prints an "Order for the relief of the Poor," because "there is some difficulty experienced by students in finding it." As a matter of fact it was printed as early as 1587, there are two copies in the British Museum, and it is easily accessible to all students in Collier, *op. cit.*, I, 211.

On pp. 38–9 extracts only are printed from Lansdowne MS. 41, art. 13, without reference to previous publication. Collier printed it in full, I, 252-3, and it has been in common use by later scholars. Again, from Lansdowne xx, arts. 12 and 13 she prints (pp. 39-44) documents relating to trouble between the City authorities and the players, without credit to former scholars. These were originally printed in incomplete form in Strype's ed. of Stow's *Survey* (1720), V, 245-6, and in full by Collier (I, 212-216) who duly credits Stow. The six accounts of Court performances (pp. 44-45), uncredited, were first printed by Cunningham (1842) in *Revels Accounts,* 188-9, which, in the absence of any reference, we may take as Mrs. Stopes's authority.

The Burbage-Brayne pleadings, and decrees and orders, referred to on pp. 49-51 and printed (abstracted only) on pp. 154-164, appear as new "finds," regardless of the fact that Collier printed five of the orders in his *Memoirs of Actors* (1846), pp. 8-11, and the still more significant fact that all of these, and many more hitherto undiscovered and unpublished, have been printed by Professor C. W. Wallace in Vol. XIII of *Nebraska University Studies.* But Mrs. Stopes forewarns her readers (Preface, p. xii) that she intends to ignore Professor Wallace and his discoveries.

A letter by the Lord Mayor (p. 69), 28 July, 1597, on suppressing plays at the Theatre, Curtain, and Bankside, is apparently abstracted without credit from Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines,* I, 357. The evidence for this is in the foot-note reference ("Remembrancia," p. 354) which is false, as it fits neither the original in the Guildhall nor Halliwell-Phillipps, but only Overall's well-known *Index to Remembrancia* (1878). The original document is in the Guildhall, *Remembrancia MSS.,* II, 171. On the same page (69) the well-known Privy Council Order of July 28, 1597, suppressing the three theatres just mentioned, is printed without any reference. It was reported by Collier (*op. cit.,* I, 297), and printed in full by Halliwell in *Outlines,* I, 356, also by Dasent in *Acts of the Privy Council.*

The Middlesex Sessions Rolls, concerning the killing of James Feake by Gabriel Spencer has been accessible for years in both Latin and English in J. C. Jeaffreson's *Middlesex County Records,* I. xlv–xlvii, although Mrs. Stopes withholds the credit (p. 71). Ten pages later she misrepresents the facts respecting Halliwell-Phillipps' knowledge of a Star Chamber suit between Burbage and Alleyn. For proofs of this statement, see *Outlines,* I, 350, 360–1, 372, etc.

The patent to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, May 19, 1603, to act at the Globe, agrees (pp. 97-98) in every detail but two with Rymer's copy in *Foedera* (1715), xvi, 505 (which is not credited), and like Rymer's copy, differs in detail from the original. A phrase ("as well for the Recreation of our lovinge Subjects") omitted by Mrs. Stopes leaves the passage where it should occur absolutely meaningless. This defect, however, is remedied on p. 228, where, as if forgetting the attempt made on p. 97, the license is again printed! In the last instance the reference is to the Patent Rolls of 1 James I, although in all conscience it is curiously like Rymer's copy. A comparison of the two copies printed by Mrs. Stopes does not show much outward resemblance, and it would be interesting to know which of them she considers the Simon Pure.

A fresh example calculated to deceive the unwary is found in the list of members of Shakespeare's Co. who received their liveries on Mch. 15, 1604, at the Coronation of James I. It is here printed (p. 100) without credit to any former publication, and with such a reference as to lead one to think it appears now for the first time. Yet this list has been printed over and over again since its first appearance in the *New Shakespeare Society Transactions* (1879), App. II., p. 16. Turn-

ing the leaf, Walter Cope's letter (p. 102) concerning the performance of *Love's Labours Lost*, Jan. 11, 1604-5, is accompanied by a false reference to the State Papers. From this it is perfectly evident that Mrs. Stopes never saw the original, which is not in the State Papers at the Record Office, but at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, from which Halliwell-Phillipps first published it, with facsimile (*Outlines*, II, 83-84).

On p. 109 there is an absurd claim of "discovery" of an item relating to a payment to Shakespeare and Burbage,—following immediately on an admission that Mr. W. H. Stevenson first found it, a fact widely known since the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission in 1905, and an article by Sidney Lee in the *Times* for Dec. 27, 1905. Facts, like the North Pole, it would seem, may have more than one "discoverer." In the same category with the foregoing are the extracts from the Privy Council Register, which Mrs. Stopes misrepresents (pp. 114 and 240 ff.) as from the "unpublished records," and conveys the impression that she first published them in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* for 1912, whereas as a matter of fact these documents, and others relating to the same subject, have all been published in their complete and exact texts, long before Mrs. Stopes startled the world with her "unpublished" extracts. (*Cf.* Chalmers, *Apology*, 464, 497-500; Collier, *E. D. P.*, I, 383-4, 429-30, 445, II, 9; Murray, *Eng. Dram. Co's.*, I, 163; Malone Soc. Reprints for 1911; and Dyce's, and Bullen's editions of Middleton's plays.) As M. Förster pointed out in the *Jahrbuch* for 1912 (p. 330), the extracts published therein, purporting to have come directly from the Privy Council Register, were not only needless (as they had already been printed fully and exactly by others), but also worthless on account of their scrappiness and inexactness.

One of these *Jahrbuch* extracts requires further notice. It is the letter dated Aug. 21, 1624, concerning a play of Middleton's which was officially forbidden at that time. (The letter is reprinted in *Burbage*, etc., p. 240.) Of this play Mrs. Stopes writes: "I have not been able to satisfy myself what was its name." As it has been common knowledge for just over two hundred and eighty-nine years that the play in question was *A Game at Chess*, as an examination of almost any edition of Middleton's plays or the numerous printed copies of the letter referred to would have informed her, it is inconceivable just what evidence is still wanting to "satisfy" Mrs. Stopes on the point.

A note on Pemberton's letter on the death of Richard Burbage, extracts from which Mrs. Stopes presents (p. 117) as "new to literature," was printed by the British Museum in 1882, and has been known to searchers since that time. All the other notices of Richard Burbage (pp. 117-123) have been reprinted many times since they were first collected by Collier (1846) in his *Memoirs of Actors*. So also the Privy Council Order of Oct. 8, 1633 to suppress the Blackfriars Theatre is given to us by her (p. 126) as from the "yet unpublished volumes of the Privy Council Register." This has been known to scholars for three-quarters of a century, or since Collier published it in his *History* (I, 476) along with other records on the same subject. The same is true of the order on the following page (127) dated Nov. 20, 1633 (Collier, I, 479), while Cuthbert Burbage's pedigree (*Burbage*, etc., p. 134) was published by Chalmers in the 18th century. The note on the termination of the theatres is credited by Mrs. Stopes (pp. 135-6) to Dr. Furnivall who printed it as "new" in 1882 (*Academy*, XXII, 314-15). Collier first printed it in 1844 in his edition of Shakespeare (I, ccxli). The abstract of Elizabeth's Proclamation of 16 May, 1559, given without reference or credit, is evidently from Collier (I, 166) who printed it from the manuscript in the Bodleian Library. Hazlitt and many others have also printed it.

For the sake of space the remainder of the uncredited or unreferenced documents included in *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* will be briefly summarized. (The numerals at the beginning of the paragraphs refer to the pages of the book.)

153. List of Queen's players in Lay Subsidies, found by Joseph Hunter in 1846, and

printed by Mr. E. K. Chambers in 1911 (Malone Society Reprints).

153-4. Letter to Walsingham, 1586, printed without notice of its former publication by Collier (I. 257-8).

154-164. Burbage *v.* Brayne. (I have already discussed this in connection with pp. 49-51).

174. Credit withheld from Collier (I, 219), Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines,* I, 304), and others, for the Petition of 1596 against the proposed Blackfriars Theatre.

176. City order to suppress Blackfriars Theatre, 21 Jan. 1618-19, uncredited. Printed by Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines,* I, 311) and others. Exact reference first given by Professor Wallace in his *Children of the Chapel,* p. 18, as "Guildhall Records, Repertory 34, fol. 38 *b*." Both document and reference printed by Mrs. Stopes as if new.

177. Mere extracts from Swan Theatre documents. These were printed *in extenso* by Professor Wallace in *Englische Studien,* 43, pp. 340-395.

184-93. Abstracts of records from King's Bench and Court of Exchequer printed without acknowledgment to Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines,* 350 ff.), who found the originals and printed from them every extract which in any way related to the theatre.

197. Deposition of Augustine Phillipps, 1601, for acting *Richard II* at the request of the Essex conspirators. This was printed by Collier in his edition of Shakespeare (1856), in Dyce's ed. of *Richard II* (1866), and by many others.

198-227. Abstracts of several lawsuits printed without credit. Halliwell-Phillipps found all of these documents and published the essential portions relating to the theatre in his *Outlines* (I, 348-375), and since then Prof. Wallace has published all of these in full, and a great many more of still greater value, under the title, *The First London Theatre: Materials for a History* (University Studies, Vol. XIII).

228. Patent to Fletcher and Shakespeare. (Already dealt with under p. 97.)

229. Players' patent, 1619, printed without credit and as if it were the entire document, while it is but an extract. First printed by Collier (I, 400).

230-240. Globe-Blackfriars papers. As every one knows, these formed the chief of Halliwell-Phillipps' discoveries which he announced in 1870. Dr. Furnivall got impatient to have them in print and had them printed in the *Academy,* Mch. 7, 1874. In the previous February, however, Halliwell-Phillipps, to preserve the credit of their discovery to himself, issued them as a "fragment" of his forthcoming *Illustrations* in which he again printed them, and also in *Outlines* (I, 312–319). Mrs. Stopes asserts (p. xi) that Halliwell-Phillipps did not print the table of sharers in the Globe and Blackfriars,—a statement quite in keeping with her usual inaccuracy. He printed and reprinted the table exactly, which Mrs. Stopes fails to do (p. 232).

240. It has already been pointed out that the purported "unpublished" records from the Privy Council Register have been often published.

242. Censorship of plays, 1589, from Privy Council, printed as new. First published by Chalmers (*Apology,* 484), who also printed the letter to the Master of the Revels on the same subject.

246-263. Notices of plays at Court. Imperfect abstracts only, printed as new. These were published by Chalmers, Cunningham, and numerous others.

The foregoing list virtually disposes of the bulk of the contents of *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage.* The *Times* (Sept. 18, 1913), with its customary fairness, was forced to "regret . . . that Mrs. Stopes has missed her opportunity" (to write an adequate life, or rather lives, of the two Burbage's), and that she "lacks the gift of the biographer or literary historian." As for the rest, I believe that I have amply demonstrated that she is thoroughly incapable and undependable as an archivist. The craze which to-day possesses so many would-be Shakespearean scholars, incapable by temperament and training, to "discover" something in the Elizabethan period is the chief cause of such spurious stuff discussed in this article. Merely to brand it as spurious and

worthless is not sufficient: god-fathered by journals of unquestionable rank and world-wide influence, it becomes absolutely baneful. Not only is a prize thus conferred upon fraud, but the results of genuine scholars are placed in a false light of skepticism and disbelief.

WATSON NICHOLSON.

British Museum, London.

GRILLPARZER, *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen.* Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Edited with notes and a study of the art of Grillparzer by MARTIN SCHÜTZE. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1912. lxxxv + 156 pp. 16mo. 70 cents.

Lauterkeit ist nach Theodor Fontane[1] das Zeichen, in dem Grillparzers Herotragödie siegt. Sie hat grosse lyrisch vertiefte Schönheiten und herrlich ausgeformte Gedanken, den Zauber poetischer Vornehmheit und eine wirkliche Bildersprache, aber trotzdem macht sie nicht "den Eindruck entzückender Vollkommenheit," wie Ehrhard meint und Anselm Salzer neuerdings bestätigt.[2] Was diesem Trauerspiel zur Vollkommenheit fehlt, ist das echt Dramatische, was auch mehrmalige Umarbeitung nicht heranzaubern konnte. Das ganze Drama ist zu sehr nach dem "Tableau," dem Malerisch-Bildhaften hin gearbeitet, worauf schon Sauer aufmerksam gemacht hat, ohne daraus die ganzen kritischen Konsequenzen zu ziehen. "Seelenmalerische Zustandsbilder" (nach Necker) hat Grillparzer, hierin ein Vorläufer des Neuwieners Hugo von Hofmannsthal, mit eindeutigem Misslingen versucht. "Ein Dramatiker soll aber al fresco malen," dieser Satz Grillparzers (Werke XVIII, 79) steht der "Miniaturmalerei" des IV. und V. Aktes klar entgegen. Den dramatischen und auch theatralischen Misserfolg darf man daher nicht beschönigen.[3] Und wenn der Dichter selber von nicht zu beseitigenden Fehlern des IV. Aktes redet (Werke XVIII, 190 f.), so soll man seiner Selbsterkenntnis vertrauen. Über das Undramatische der letzten Szenen täuschen uns heutzutage nur moderne Regiekünste hinweg.

Weiterhin fehlen auch neben feiner Seelenschilderung psychologische und ästhetische Oberflächlichkeiten nicht. So ist Hero nach der wirklich schönen Liebesszene nichts anderes als eine "träumerische, sensuelle" Wienerin. Anstatt "sinnige Hingebung an die Sinnenwelt" (mit Laube, Sauers Ausgabe VII, 104) nennt man das besser (mit Grillparzer, Werke, XII, 168) "unbefangene Bewusstlosigkeit," nämlich eines völlig unreifen Weibes, ja ihre unbegreifliche Lässigkeit könnte soubrettenhaft genannt werden.[4] Just bei der Entscheidung ermangelt sie jeglicher Charakterhaftigkeit und erregt deshalb, und auch durch ihren romantischen Tod à la Kleists Penthesilea, sentimentales und keineswegs tragisches Mitleid. Zu ihrer seelischen Schwäche kommen Leanders völlige Hilflosigkeit, Naukleros oft unerträgliche Schwatzsucht, Janthes Unbedeutendheit, die unglaubwürdige Respektlosigkeit des Tempelwächters, endlich Züge vom Bühnen-Böse-wicht im Priester.

Den allgemein poetischen Vorzügen und Schönheiten und den einzelnen dramatischen und psychologischen Unzulänglichkeiten gesellt sich nun ein letzter grosser, sozusagen *methodischer Vorteil* bei, nämlich: dass vielleicht kein anderes Stück in Grillparzers Kunst und Wesensart so gut einführt als diese seine *Hero*. Sie ist nächst der *Sappho* sein persönlichstes und nach der *Libussa* sein eigentümlichstes Werk.

[1] *Causerien über Theater*, Berlin, 1905, S. 106 ff.

[2] Ehrhard-Necker, *Franz Grillparzer*, 1902, S. 277; A. Sauer in seiner 20bdgn Ausgabe, Cotta, I, 72; Necker, Max Hesses 8bdge Ausgabe, Leipzig, V, 5 ff; Salzer, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, München, S. 1592.

[3] Schütze ist wohltuend scharfsichtig S. XIX f. Schon Fontane (1874) verlangt die Streichung von IV, 2 und Zusammenfassung von V, 1 und V, 2 zu einem kurzen Ganzen. Bulthaupt, *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels* (4 Aufl.), III, 74 ff, findet nur "die Katastrophe zu breit."

[4] Ebenso bezeichnet Ehrhard, a. a. O. S. 283, Janthe als "eine Soubrette im Peplon."

Aus allem Gesagten geht auch hervor, dass es sich bei einer kritischen Herausgabe nur um eine Ausgabe für die Bedürfnisse und Interessen von *Vorgeschrittenen* handeln kann. Das hat Professor Schütze mit feinem ästhetischen und pädagogischen Takt erkannt, und deshalb kann auch sein "kritischer Apparat" zu dem *Wie* der Behandlung dieses Grillparzerwerkes anleiten.[5] Aber Schütze ist ausser einem feinfühligen wissenschaftlichen Kritiker auch selbst Dichter.[6] Und vielleicht wegen seines eigenen gesundstarken künstlerischen Temperaments wird er m. E. dem Menschen und Dichter Grillparzer manchmal nicht ganz gerecht. Im ganzen erkennt er in ihm richtig den vital und ethisch gleich schwächlichen, weil resignierten Egoismus des Pessimisten.[7] Doch ist mir des Dichters Lebensbild in den besten Mannesjahren und bei den Höhepunkten seines Schaffens zu lichtlos. Die Offenbarungen einer massvollen und anmutigen Künstlerschaft harmonieren mit dem Eindruck einer reichen Innerlichkeit, die sich in günstigen Momenten auch nach aussen glänzend geben konnte, davon Frauen wie Männer seiner Zeit zu reden wissen.[8]

Eine gewisse Einseitigkeit in Schützes Darstellung erklärt sich durch eine vorzeitige Einmischung (S. XV, f.) romantischer Probleme in das Biographische. Statt dessen wäre hier das ganz auf Impressionen und Stimmungen eines überreizten musikalischen Sinnes eingestellte *Ästhetentum* Grillparzers noch mehr zu unterstreichen gewesen, in dem so viel seelisch indolentes Wienertum steckt und das m. E. neben seinem Egoismus die Schwäche seines Lebens und Dichtens ausmacht. Auch von hier aus geht eine Entwicklungslinie zu Neuwiens artistischer Formvollendung ohne Werte des Lebens. Ganz treffend nennt dann Schütze (S. XXVIII) Grillparzers philosophisches Ziel: "the inner harmony proclaimed by the moral aestheticism of the 18th century," und regt damit Gedanken über den Einfluss von Shaftesbury und auch Hemsterhuis an, wie denn überhaupt Schützes Hauptverdienst die geistreiche vielseitige Anregung ist.

Mit seiner Auffassung des Romantizismus kann ich nicht einverstanden sein. Vom Standpunkt der schönen Literatur und der Philosophie (als Weltanschauungskunde) aus gelangt man zu Anton E. Schönbachs Ansicht, dass "die Romantik die tiefste und mächtigste Bewegung des geistigen Lebens der Neuzeit ist" (in *Über Lesen und Bildung*, 7. Auflage, S. 147, ff.; 238, ff). Ihre philosophische Leistung (Fichte—Fries—Fr. H. Jacobi—Schelling—Schleiermacher) lässt sich nicht eher genau bestimmen, als bis die ästhetische und ethische Terminologie der einzelnen Romantiker festgelegt ist. Aber als ihr Schönstes kennen wir jetzt schon einen konsequenten idealistischen *Monismus*.[9] Dieser "transzendentale Idealismus" ist kein "antagonism to life"—ebensowenig wie der *echte* Symbolismus, ohne den die Kunst überhaupt undenkbar ist,[10] sondern die dem Leben gewachsene Innerlichkeit oder anders ausgedrückt: die echte Subjektivität. Deshalb ist für das Kapitel "Art and Objective Reality" eine klare Scheidung der Begriffe "objektiv" und "subjektiv" unbedingt nötig, was der Verfasser m. E. nicht geleistet hat, weshalb er auch zu einer unbefangenen Auffassung des Idealismus nicht kommt.

Wieweit Grillparzer ein Romantiker, der Weltanschauung nach, ist, muss noch genauer untersucht werden, jedenfalls ist er *nicht* an dem Idealismus im Romantizismus, sondern an dem übertriebenen (romantischen?) Ästhetizismus gescheitert.

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[5] Immer praktisch sind Tabellen mit den Daten der einzelnen Dramen und einige charakteristische Bilder. In der Bibliographie vermisse ich u. a. den Hinweis auf das *Grillparzer-Jahrbuch*.

[6] Auf Schützes Herotragödie (bei H. Holt & Co., New York, 1908) hoffe ich a. O. näher einzugehen.

[7] W. Scherer hat den Ausdruck "Raunzer" dafür, *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1874, S. 269.

[8] Vgl. Scherer, a. a. O, S. 294 f; Ehrhard S. 16, 25 ff.

[9] Vgl. O. F. Walzel, *Deutsche Romantik*, 1908, S. 41 f., 64 f.

[10] Wie W. Dilthey, Th. Lipps und Schönbach belehren können.

La Moza de Cántaro, por LOPE DE VEGA, edited with introduction and notes by MADISON STATHERS. New York, Holt & Company, 1913. 12mo., xlii + 169 pp.

The edition of this work of Lope makes a very desirable addition to the list of Spanish texts available for class use. Like the rest of the series in which it is published the text is attractively presented and is quite free from typographical imperfections.[1]

The introduction is carefully done, intelligent and, moreover, interesting as well as instructive. In the notes the editor has not been so successful. Of the two hundred odd annotations offered, some thirty-five are erroneous, either wholly or in part,—quite a large proportion in view of the fact that many of the passages in question become clear from a reading of other plays of Lope. The following comments aim to correct or supplement the notes of the edition.

4. *Narcisos.* The meaning, of course, is clear. One can, however, judge nothing from the citation from the *Celestina* whether the name *Narciso*, in the sense of 'affected lover' or 'fop,' had passed into common usage, or not, a century before Lope. Certainly the usage is not peculiar to Lope.

17. *Lindamente . . . vanidad,* "You know my weakness! You are trying to flatter me" is exactly what the expression does not mean. The passage is ironical, and a nearer translation would have been 'A lot you know about me (or, you know me well!),' meaning, of course, 'You don't know me at all or you wouldn't be trying flattery on me.'

35. *quiere en la memoria de la muerte,* etc., not 'after he has died for her' but 'is going to speak next, in his *petition*, of his *love*.'

After 40. *Con hermoso,* etc. The translation as given by the note is not a possible one. 'Appearances deceiving you' does not render *mentida vista*, nor is there anything in the text corresponding to 'withal.' A *mentida vista* is a face which conveys a falsehood, the construction being apposition with *rostro*,—in this case the idea is that the face so beautiful and calm, which would naturally promise hope to the lover, is not true to itself for it is severe and stern. (A better punctuation would be to place a comma after *vista*.) After all, the whole difficulty resolves itself into one of word-order and the following conveys the thought: Last week, my lady, your disdain, imbued with all kindliness, yet stern, looked upon me with a countenance fair, though severe, peaceful though not benign—misleading features—and not with that kindly brightness which illuminates your face with heavenly brilliancy. In plain English the meaning is: Last week you cast a glance at me of less favor than had been your wont.

92. *La primera necedad,* etc. Not as rendered, but 'The first folly, they say, is not the one to be feared but those which follow it trying to undo it.'

133. *Don Diego de noche y coche.* The implication is not that Don Diego "would woo his lady at night and under the cover of a carriage" nor is María lamenting that Diego is not following the brilliant example of the king by contributing to keep horsemanship from becoming a lost art. On the contrary, the incongruity is that a *Don Diego de Noche* (which, by the way, is not an allusion to a flower but to the very specific and regular use of the expression in the seventeenth century in the sense of a 'night prowler'—cf. Quevedo, *Visita de los chistes*, Rivad., Vol. 23, p. 345 and note) should also be attempting to play the galán. The contemptuousness of the expression is further heightened by the assonance of the two words *noche* and *coche*. María's implied objection to Don Diego, then, is that the acquisition of a coach on his part makes ill amends for his

[1] The following, however, may be mentioned in passing: v. 957, agentado- read argentado; v. 260, en al alma, read en el alma. Vv. 1527–28, as part of an extraneous poem, should be italicized as in 1237–38. The whole poem may be found in Góngora, Rivad. vol 32, p. 502. It was long a favorite with dramatic writers—being used, for example, by Lope, *Desprecio agradecido*, II, 6; by Bautista Diamante, *Cuanto mienten los Indicios*, I, 1; by Cañizares, *Más ilustre Fregona*, III. V. 1786, which seems to be the second verse of the *romance* in question, should be likewise in italics.

de noche characteristics, and that the two things do not go well together.

188. *Lugar . . . deba. Bien* is not the adverb here but the substantive, freely, 'place which is a respect which I owe it.'

337. *quien.* Not a doubtful but a regular usage as the citation from Menendez Pidal shows. Cervantes hardly uses the plural form.

485. *reverendo coche.* "Elegant" is too good for the connotation of *reverendo.* Whatever connection the word may have once had with the clergy had been long forgotten in the usage as found in the text. It is exceedingly common in the jocose sense used here. In the present case 'scrumptious' would give some savor of the word. Its meaning may be better felt than defined from the following: *tocas reverendas, Don Quijote,* I, 49; *reverendo bulto,* Lope, *Discreta enamorada,* III, 3 (speaking of a woman); *reverendo escudero,* Lope, *Anzuelo de Fenisa,* I, 2.

587. comenzamos . . . jugadores. Not as rendered, but 'we began by a *rifa* which serves as the procuress does in love, to unite or at least to awaken the interest of the players.' *Tercera* does not mean "third person" but *alcahueta. Rifa* is a game whose stake is an object of value other than money as is clear from *Marcos de Obregon,* I, Desc. 13 (p. 404, Rivad.), where the object played for is a ring just as it is jewelry here. In the passage cited the *rifa* is followed by playing for money as it is in the text. There is no reason to hold that the author is making a play on the two meanings of *rifa* mentioned by the note.

595. *Terciando mi primo el juego.* Not necessarily "being the third player" but simply 'taking a hand,' 'sitting in,'—a regular meaning of the verb *terciar.*

638. *Que encaje el marfil ansí,* 'who is as big a liar,' not "who is as clever." *Marfil* is here used in the sense of *bola* with play on the two meanings 'billiard-ball' and 'lie.'

793. *camino real.* Such a road not only existed but was the highway from Sevilla to Madrid by way of Cordova, Sierra Morena, Adamuz, and Toledo.

882. *Porque me dicen,* etc. *Pretensiones* does not mean "pretentions" nor *ocupación* "occupation." The former means 'candidacy for office,' the latter 'possession of office.' Translate: Since (better than "because") they tell me that the realization of those hopes for office which are delayed by reason of present holders is slow in coming, I shall start a household.

954. *Vera de Plasencia.* Its mention in connection with *zapatillas* would tend to identify it with the district in the province of Cáceres rather than with the town near Zaragoza. Leather was one of the principal products of the district in question.

960. *Pues lo digo,* etc. *Cara* is not a typographical error for *vara. Punto* is neither the "twelfth of the antiquated French line" nor does the passage mean "That is the size that one would take by a glimpse of that foot." The sense of the passage does not turn on the meaning of the words *punto* and *cara* but on the two meanings of *punto,* viz.: (1) size,—of shoes; (2) stitch used in sewing,—of wounds. The play can hardly be kept in English, the meaning being: from that foot I would gladly take a wound on my face of the same number of stitches as expresses the size of her shoe. From various references we learn that five was a good average lady's size, three was small, fourteen was very large. The very same play on these two words is found in Lope, *Hermosura aborrecida,* I, 16:

> Y un pié de mujer en cinco puntos,
> Á quien naturaleza dió catorce
> Puntos parecen ya de cuchilladas.

971. *De escarpines presumí,* etc. The *chapín* was distinctly not for servants' use. Its characteristic lay not in its lowness nor in its heaviness but in the layers of its sole to give it height. Cf. *Don Quijote,* II, 5, "si de los zuecos la sacays á chapines;" Lope, *Mal Casada,* I, 15:

> Que apeada del chapín
> De giganta se hace enana.

The first citation shows that it was distinctively for persons of wealth. The second that it was high-soled. See *Rinconete* (ed. Rodríguez

Marín), p. 309 and note; Lope, *Peligros de la Ausencia,* I, 11, where *chapín* is mentioned as a part of a lady's attire. That they were not easy to run in is seen from *Gitanilla,* "soltó los chapines, y . . . corriendo salió á la sala." That they were worn by ladies of dignity is seen from *Entretenida* (Ochoa, *Tesoro,* vol. I, p. 486, b.). The characteristic maids' slipper is *chinela.* The writer is inclined to believe that the editor has missed the sense of this rather difficult passage and proposes, not without some trepidation, the following interpretation supported by such references as have come to his observation:

MARTIN. And among the lacings put
Five pair of 'jasmins.'
D. JUAN. I thought rather five (pair of) stockings
Judging from the amount of padding
(algodón).

That *Jazmines* were some sort of ladies' 'make-up' appears from Lope, *Desprecio agradecido,* I, 6:

Son las rosas de Toledo,
Los *jazmines* del Gran Turco,
Los *moldes* y otros *enredos*. . . .

Escarpines is thus given by Covarrubias: "La funda de lienço que ponemos sobre el pie debaxo de la calza, como la camisa debaxo del jubon." The use of this padding, of whatever sort it was, D. Juan professes not to understand, so Martín enlightens him by explaining that they are *paragambas.*

975. *cañafistolas.* Does not carry the "idea of something indicated but not named," but a very palpable allusion to the stuffed gaiters which are here compared to the rolls in which cinnamon and cassia bark is prepared for market.

1042. *á cuantos los miran.* The period at the end of the line was correct and should have been kept. The two subordinate clauses introduced by *si* are not connected by *y* but each has its own main verb.

1086. *Mas qué os,* etc. It is doubtful whether the punctuation suggested would give the meaning intended. More intelligible would be either the placing of the second interrogation after *qué* or the removal of the accent from *qué.*

1089. *Filis.* Nothing can be inferred from the mention of this name by Lope here. It was not only common, but so common that a regular way to express the idea that some one was not a fine lover was to say *sabía poco de Filis.*

1145. *que viene . . . á pretender.* Not 'make pretensions' but 'seek office,' cf. *supra,* v. 882.

1262. *dorado.* Not a "yellow flower"; construe with *lirio* of v. 1264: Let the carnation not be proud of its purple, nor the golden (sc. lily) of its crown, nor the purple lily of its thread of gold. . . .

1282. *Adónde bueno* does not mean *qué tal.* "Whither bound?" although not a free translation is altogether too artificial to render its meaning as is shown by María's objection to the simplicity and familiarity of the salutation.

1300. *No tengo por mal acuerdo requebrar,* etc. Not "I do not consider it ill-advised to enumerate." *Requebrar* does not "usually mean to flatter" except in the sense of 'make compliments to the object of one's affections.' The writer is entirely unacquainted with it in the sense of 'enumerate.' The meaning of the passage, without attempt at translation, is: "DON JUAN. Why do you ask if I am poor? MARÍA. Because if you have no money to aspire higher, I don't blame you for wooing some one who will cost you only gifts of ordinary finery, for there is not enough gold in the Indies to buy the recent fashions which *ladies* affect. The laces from one loom would cost you more than it would to woo a whole legion of *maids.*" For *lo que* referring to persons cf. v. 2080.

1303. *Os costará,* etc. The singular is correct; construe with its subject *lo que.*

1305. *Para el río.* The phrase has the force of an adjective and it is not out of its natural place. The meaning is a 'Sunday-go-to-meeting hat' with its ribbon.

1307. *virillas.* The writer is unacquainted with the meaning "border around the top of a shoe."

1417. *ó asoma por el estribo,* etc. Not "through the doorway" but 'over the step.' The step was put up when the carriage was in motion as appears from Lope, *Mal Casada,* II,

1. How high the step reached when put up is evident from Lope, *Porfiar hasta Amor,* III, 7.

1493. *No pone codo en la puente,* etc. The reference is not to public places in general but to the very specific lounging place by the Puente Segoviana, cf. *Marcos de Obregón,* Des. 8.

1543. *Durandartes.* Not "*Lances de amor,*" but '*galanes.*'

1863. *Pues con él haberlas quiero.* Not "Well, I am willing to have it out with him," but 'Then I'll settle it with you.' *él* is used in mock-dignified respect for *usted, el señor.*

1929. *El instrumento.* Not the *bandurría,* but the *pandero.*

2131. *Porque ha mucho que no soy.* Not as rendered but something like the following: 'Where are you from?' 'I hardly know for I ceased to be at all long ago.'

2236. *alma de cántaro.* "Hare-brained fellow" is not the equivalent of the expression. "Hare-brained" means 'heedless,' 'scatter-brained' 'thoughtless,' 'giddy,' while '*alma de cántaro*' means about the opposite—'humble,' 'sheepish,' 'simple.' It is generally taken as reproof.

The following are supplementary to annotations offered by the text:

70. *si va á decir verdad.* The meaning is clear. The annotation most to the point would have been the explanation of the person of *va* which is strictly impersonal. English has something like it in a similar phrase, 'If it comes to telling the truth.'

124. *Pedro el Cruel.* The facts cited in the note regarding Don Pedro are true enough but do not satisfactorily explain why María mentions him as a particularly displeasing object. It was not on account of his cruelty but on account of his displeasing appearance.

197. *Sanlúcar.* The annotation needed here is that Medina really had a residence here as well as at Seville.

1066. *tusón dorado.* The note does not make clear that the order in question is that of the Golden Fleece.

1951. *Casa del campo.* The form of the text is the regular usage of the seventeenth century.

2559, ff. There is no reason for taking these lines as part of a popular song of the day. They are much more probably written for the occasion as are similar verses in Lope's *Bizarrías de Belisa,* II, 6. They are founded on the ballad of *Boabdil y Vindaraja* (Durán, *Romancero,* nos. 116 and 117):

> En la villa de Antequera
> . . . . . .
> Corren toros, juegan cañas

2691. *Apela á Mil y Quinientas.* The citation from the *Égloga á Claudio* has no bearing on this verse but on verse 2692, which it confirms. A very necessary annotation on v. 2691 is the explanation of *Mil y Quinientas* which the editor seems to have missed. *Mil y Quinientas* was a court of last appeal. The passage now becomes perfectly lucid, turning, as it does, on the double meaning of *Mil y Quinientas,* the name of the court in question and at the same time the number of Lope's plays.

At the present stage of our studies the task of annotating a Spanish text is much more difficult than that of annotating one in French. Certainly any Spanish play of the seventeenth century abounds to such an extent in difficulties that an editor may be pardoned for passing over some of them out of pure *embarras du choix.* The following observations, however, might have well been included and would have probably added to a more ready comprehension of the text:

1065. *ámbar.* Not *ambergris* but *gloves* scented with it.

1473. *Adora mi ama en él. Adorar en alguién* was regular in the seventeenth century, in the sense of 'to adore.'

1564. *Pretendientes.* There is a pun here on the double meaning of *pretendientes,* 'claimants,' 'aspirants,' and suitors for a lady's favor.

1656. *encuentro.* A play on the word which means both 'meeting,' and 'lucky play,' the opposite of '*azar.*' The two words are again used together and contrasted in Lope, *Al Pasar del arroyo,* II, 16. The pun is untranslatable in English; half of the play can be hinted at rather than rendered in something like the following: The first ace they dealt me was a deuce.

1664 and 1768–9. The shop of the *turronero* as a common rendez-vous for gambling is a frequent allusion.

1785. *Don Álvaro de Luna.* The hawkers of books as well as of other things were a real institution in Madrid. Lope makes allusion to them elsewhere, e. g., *Viuda val.*, I. On the diffusion of the ballads relating to Don Álvaro, cf. Guevara, *Diablo Cojuelo*, p. 59 (ed. Bonilla y San Martín).

1862. *Á pagar de mi dinero*, 'I'll bet you won't.'

1868. *enemigo.* Object of one's affections especially if unrequited.

1882–83. . . . *te dará vestidos*, 'Will take you into her service.'

Annotations on the following passages would not have been out of place as they have been found to cause considerable difficulty to even advanced students:

45, Hazte boba. . . .—51, Que en él. . . . —53 and 56, partido . . . á la pelota.—106, Tal salud tengas (not an expression of well-wishing).—173–74, se causa la excusa. . . . —323 and 656, debéis. . . .—402, lo que . . . pudiera. . . .—432, en mi empleo . . . (not 'in my employ').—604–5, ¿Hay . . . faltaron?—610, No. . . .—924, estimaros . . . (not 'esteeming yourself.')—1069, jinete. . . .—1103–4, Vos. . . . Que nadie. . . .—1520. Sino á quien queren querer. . . .—1710, esas perlas. . . .—2211. La parte. . . .—2227, volvé. . . .—2475 and 2477, Lobos . . . enfermedad.

In spite of all that may be said against the incorporation of a vocabulary in work of this grade it should be borne in mind that a really perfect glossary still remains the best commentary.

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Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch. Herausgegeben von Carl von Kraus. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1912.

To the *Germanische Bibliothek*, edited by W. Streitberg, is now added a *Mittelhochdeutsches Übungsbuch* by Carl von Kraus, making the second reader to be issued in this series. The volume consists of 12 selections covering 238 pages, bibliographical and textual notes, and two brief indexes. In his preface the editor points out that the book is not intended for a Reader in the generally accepted sense, but is designed "to offer the beginner a series of texts which will give him the opportunity to learn how manifold are the tasks which the literature of the Middle High German time puts before the investigator, and to practice the methods by which these tasks may be lightened or executed." To this end the book seems admirably adapted, and the editor is amply justified in remarking "that almost every one of the 14 (misprint for 12?) numbers offers its own specific problems" (Preface). The various dialects are well represented, there are examples of faulty MSS, as also of fragmentary ones requiring emendations and conjectural additions, and in numerous cases parallel columns encourage the comparison of independent MSS. as to matter, form, orthography, and the like. It is safe to say that any beginner who conscientiously works through the book will need no further introduction to the problems of Middle High German.

A truly appalling amount of editorial labor is represented by the modest volume, and everything attests the scrupulous care and almost meticulous exactness which we have learned to expect of the best German scholarship. Of the few misprints, only one is at all significant: Leitzmann for J. Meier (p. 237). The others I have noted are as follows: period omitted after *ist* (footnote, p. 58); *ans* for *aus* (footnote, p. 87); *Uber* for *Über* (p. 241); failure to print *sin* (p. 257, VI) and *verstan* (p. 257, VI), in italics. The two brief indexes above mentioned hardly seem to justify the labor they cost. Since Lachmann's edition of Walther, it has

been customary to index lyric collections by the initial rhymes of the separate stanzas; v. Kraus does the same for his numbers 11 and 12, which are, respectively, all the stanzas ascribed at once to Walther and to other poets, and a number of Teichner's aphoristic poems. The number of stanzas is so small that the task of finding a certain desired one is not great; but v. Kraus has made the use of the indexes more difficult by normalising the lines. For example, the line *Waz wirret daz si mich verneme* is listed under *vernaeme,* and similarly *mere* becomes *maere.* Group VII is missing from the first index. I think black-faced type preferable to italics for marking the new rhymes.

In two cases it seems to me that the book attempts too much. The editor hopes that the reprint of *Graf Rudolf* and *Athis* may be used for comparison with Veldeke, Hartmann, or Wolfram, and thus aid the student to gain an "insight into the origin and development of the court epic." Such a comparison would seem to smack strongly of the literary Reader; and it is questionable whether one should expect an exercise book for beginners to be employed for the study of matter not included in it. An objection of the same kind might be registered in the case of No. 11, Lyrica. "The stanzas gathered under the heading 'Lyrica' are intended to stimulate an exact study of the workmanship of the Middle High German poets: how are the poems ascribed to Walther by single MSS. to be distinguished from his own, and are the other MSS. right in ascribing them to Raumsland or Teschler, Rubin or Walther von Mezze?" To answer these questions requires very much more material than the book affords; and it is at least doubtful whether beginners should be assigned such tasks. Certainly the authorship of these stanzas can never be settled by philological criteria alone; and even literary criteria are frequently at fault. The reason is that the music, which could alone set all doubt at rest, is lost; and to try to determine the authorship of many of these poems is something like attempting to decide whether Schumann or Schubert composed a song by a study of the words. In the same connection,—the utilization of matter not included,—it is not quite clear to me why, in the notes to Fleck's *Floire,* the student is expected to be familiar with Sommer's commentary, whereas Sommer's text and the important suggestions of the other commentators are embodied in the book.

Perhaps the most difficult problem which confronted the editor was that of the typography; and although there is evidence on every page that v. Kraus has spared no pains in the attempt to solve it, the typography of the book seems to me its least satisfactory feature.

In part this appears to be the fault of the publishers. They are responsible for the many broken types which disfigure page after page; and if they had been willing and able to give the editor *carte blanche* in his choice of type, other undesirable features could doubtless have been avoided. The objection, of course, may reasonably be made that few printers have the fonts of type which such a book requires; and it is undeniable that it makes very extraordinary demands on the publishers. But then the attempt at an accurate reproduction of the MSS. inevitably becomes less worth while. In its present form, certainly, the book is likely to cause the student annoyance, if not absolute confusion. For example, the long *i* and *u* of No. 1 are of a different font from the long *e* and *a,* and both fonts differ from the main body of the text; yet in the footnotes, printed in smaller type, they are the same. The question at once arises, since we are at the outset given to understand that all typographical peculiarities have a meaning, whether or not this variance indicates a special type of letter in the MS.; in the case of *Roma,* for example, whose initial letter is given three different forms, the editor's intention is evident. In *Graf Rudolf* I note two forms of the *n* with nasal stroke, both in the same line (p. 55, three lines from bottom); so far as I have seen, the one form occurs only here. Is this intention or accident? Two forms of the long *e* alternate all through the *Graf Rudolf,* one blacker than the other, and both different from the main text. Black-faced letters appear here and there, *e. g.,* in *munt,* p. 115, l. 6837, or in *sin,* p. 98, l. 1175, the same line containing another *i* with circumflex of a different font, or in *kalander,* p. 97, l. 182, or

in *du,* p. 123, l. 664, or in a number of cases of *m* on p. 125. If this is not intention, the publishers may be held accountable for it.

In some other matters the editor cannot be absolved from blame. Thus the choice of fonts is doubtless his own, and in some cases it leads to confusion. So in *Graf Rudolf* and *Wigamur* uncertain letters and words are printed in italics; also all the comments in the footnotes are printed in italics. The footnote to 1676f. reads as follows: "*Ausser min. So wolde hat noch ein Wort im Ausmass von* ich *etwa Platz:* Gerne wolte?" Precedent favors the use of italics; but clearness is the first requisite, and it would have been better to print the conjectural letters in black type, or in some special font.

Many of the MSS. were freshly collated by the editor for this book, and in frequent instances his reading differs from that of other scholars. In these cases he prints the doubtful word in the footnotes, with an exclamation point following, to indicate that he is aware of the difference, and is sure of his reading. The resulting excessive use of the exclamation, as in No. 3 and No. 7, becomes very wearying, and one wonders why the same result could not have been achieved by the mere reprint of the word in the note, or by the use of *sic,* which occasionally is employed. One feels that this half controversial device is not quite in place in a book for beginners.

To the editor's account must also be laid a certain inconsistency in typographical matters. After announcing an accurate reprint of the MSS., and carrying out the reproduction in many cases with really exemplary fidelity, he alters them in other respects. For example, he remarks in his notes to No. 3: "The MS. writes the verses continuously and separates them by rhyme-points. I print in lines and punctuate after Hoffmann." In a footnote on the following page he says: "Roediger's numerous suggestions as to the punctuation are included in the reprint." The two statements evidently conflict; but aside from that, why should the orthography be retained, even to the forms of the letters, and the peculiar punctuation of the MS. discarded?

After a careful survey of the book, I am strongly of the conviction that the attempt to reproduce the MSS. by means of ordinary types is nearly futile. It breaks down always when especial difficulties arise; and a single genuine MS. page, closely studied, should do more to inform the student of the peculiarities and difficulties of the medieval MSS. than a hundred printed pages. If the texts had been printed in ordinary type, and a few facsimile plates inserted, the cost of the latter would perhaps have been covered by the saving on the type-setting, and the book have been made immensely more valuable to the student.

At the same time, these are trivial defects which do not seriously impair the solid merit of the book. Teachers everywhere will welcome this aid to their seminary exercises, and indeed it contains a great amount of material not readily accessible. It should at once take its place beside Braune's *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch* as a standard work.

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HONORÉ DE BALZAC, *Gobseck et Jésus-Christ en Flandre,* edited with introduction, notes, and index by R. T. HOLBROOK. New York: Oxford University Press, 1913. XXV + 197 pp.

The object of this review is less to criticize than to call attention to a most excellent piece of editing, one that might in many respects serve as a model to future makers of language text-books. The publishers as well as the editor deserve praise for the splendid way in which they have done their share. Paper, print, and binding are all that could be asked, and if the series of which Professor Weeks is the general editor keeps up the high standard set by the first two numbers, we may safely predict a genuine success for it.

What gives the work of Professor Holbrook an especially high value is the thoroughness

with which he has treated the syntactical part of his text. Most editors confine their labors to the elucidation of the most obvious difficulties. These have not been slighted in the work under discussion, but have been handled with the fulness they deserve, thus saving the reader needless researches. Most of the notes have a genuine pedagogical value in that they constantly appeal to the student's reasoning faculties and satisfy his natural desire to know the why and wherefore. Numerous cross-references stimulate and help him to test his knowledge, to compare, and to deduce the unknown from the known. To be more specific, the verbal constructions have been treated with a completeness not to be found in any edition known to me, and constant reference is made to works containing the latest and best that has been published on that subject. The use of the subjunctive, of imperfect, past definite and past indefinite, so often slighted by instructors because too often badly understood and difficult, have been fearlessly and competently tackled wherever they occur. Care is also taken to insist upon an accurate rendering into English, wherever the text might tempt students to be satisfied with such a slipshod translation as is common in colleges and high schools, where French, German, Latin, and Greek are often the innocent causes of corrupt English. Frequent comparisons between French constructions or shades of meaning and their English equivalents help the reader to appreciate the resources and shortcomings of both languages, a method which deepens the learner's insight into his own and the foreign tongue, develops his feeling for them, and spurs him on to further study in the field of linguistics. Thus understood and practised, the study of modern languages will become truly scientific and humanistic.

The only criticism one may feel inclined to make has to do with the choice of at least the first of the two stories here edited. *Gobseck,* if in a few respects quite characteristic of Balzac's manner, is by no means to be reckoned among his best productions either from the point of view of style or as a character sketch. It contains, it is true, admirable pages, such as those which describe the hero's last hours. Still, this usurer is by no means convincing; and, as for the plot, there is none. Most of the subsidiary characters are false to nature, or uninteresting. The most one can say is that Balzac has in this story given full rein to his propensity for semi-shady business transactions and legal trickery, but they may be met with in half a dozen better stories from his pen.

Then again, one may question the wisdom of so high-pitched a commentary applied to a linguistically easy work. Is not the standard of the former too high for students "who have been carefully trained in simpler French during one year at least"? And if not, it might have been advisable to choose a work more difficult in character and of a higher esthetic value; in other words, one worthy of such admirable efforts. The foregoing remarks do not apply to the second story, *Jésus-Christ en Flandre,* one of Balzac's best shorter works. Two-thirds at least of it are excellent. The last third is open to criticism as having hardly any connection with the plot and as being full of obscure allegory. Whatever one may think of the stories, there can be no doubt that the study of the notes will constitute a most salutary tonic to students of French, and a most wholesome stimulant to teachers using the book. Some will no doubt call these notes unduly full: 68 pages of small print for 115 of large—almost as much commentary as text. To be sure, the editor remarks in his preface that it will be an easy matter to advise the students "what to study and what to omit," which, of course, disarms the critic.

Personally I do not like the practice, followed in both introduction and commentary, of quoting in French, from critics, biographers, or the author himself, lengthy passages which are often more difficult than the story in hand. If they are intended as a help to the students, there is every reason to add explanations of the linguistic difficulties occurring in the passages. But a simpler way and one which would save time is to give such quotations in English.

The following remarks are offered in connection with the notes.

P. 2, *collége;* p. 29, l. 10, *complétement;* p. 35, l. 23, and again in index, *privilége.* Such

words, generally spelled with *é* in Balzac's day, are now written with *è*.—P. 2, *De viris.* Up to about thirty years ago it was the common practice in French schools (still kept up in some clerical schools to-day) to begin the study of Latin not with Phaedrus, but with Lhomond's *Epitome historiæ sacræ*.—P. 3, l. 12. Mme. de Grandlieu's speech can hardly be called "high-falutin." She is an aristocrat and is speaking to her daughter, a young lady who is yet under training for a station in high-life. Aristocrats used to address their children with *vous,* which Mme. de G. uses here, and which implies considerable formality in the relations. I should have preferred a note on *tenir une conduite* and *avoir une conduite* used in the same sentence.—P. 6, l. 1, *il ne profitait pas de cette faveur comme aurait pu en profiter un homme ambitieux.* The alleged reason for the inversion in the latter half of the sentence seems to me far-fetched, or if that be the historical or logical reason, I doubt that Balzac ever thought of it. The obvious reason is that he wished to avoid the repetition of the verb *profiter* in a stressed position, and thus lighten the sentence.—P. 6, ll. 16–17. Since nothing is said about the location of the Faubourg St. Germain (p. 5, l. 2) near one of the oldest churches in Paris (St. Germain des Prés on the left bank of the Seine) it is hardly relevant to state that the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin is near the Opéra, unless one adds that about 1830 it was the important wholesale business quarter of Paris. A dandy from the world of trade would be happy to be admitted to the inner circles of the noble faubourg.—P. 8, l. 13. Is it advisable to call *vous l'eussiez comparé* subjunctive? Historically it is, but in reality it is now a variant form of the past conditional.—P. 17, l. 1. The editor takes *mécanique anglaise* to mean something like an automaton, thereby implying on the part of Balzac an intended "slur at what he supposed to be a representative English trait." If such were the case, B. would probably have used *automate anglais.* I think he means what he says, a mechanical device, a kind of *mouvement d'horlogerie* repeating the same movements with monotonous regularity. Nowadays he might have used *mécanique américaine.*—P. 22, ll. 19–20, *Si le roi me devait, madame, et qu'il ne me payât pas.* The editor rightly and repeatedly calls attention to the fact that preterites and impf. subjunctives are avoided in "every-day French," but is too emphatic and too sweeping in his proscription of the hated tenses. Cultured Frenchmen have no such horror of them. It may be asserted that the endings *-sse, -ssions, -ssiez* are shunned and sound pedantic. But the third person singular, *-ât, -ût, -ît,* is under no such harsh ban. Careful speakers still use it. As for the past definite, it can still be very properly employed in a sustained narrative like Derville's. It all depends on the milieu one frequents. Expressions like *fût-il roi de Prusse, fussiez-vous dix fois plus riche,* etc., may be heard daily. The forms are on the wane and will doubtless disappear, but it is an exaggeration to say that they are gone and no longer to be used in conversation.

P. 29, l. 16, *un verre d'eau sucrée.* This rather lengthy note fails to point out that the French have long known the refreshing and tonic effect of sugar. The suggestion has been made, and, I think, carried out, to provide soldiers with lump-sugar when on long marches. It may be remarked that the American student will hardly understand the editor's use of 'loaf' in the sense 'lump.'—P. 30, l. 28, *à le venir voir.* This construction is by no means so common as the note would have us believe. *Venir le voir, aller le chercher,* etc., are by far more current to-day in the mouth of the people. —P. 34, l. 20, *tôper,* in most dictionaries written without accent. It would also be well to indicate, what a majority of French-English dictionaries fail to do, that the word means to strike in the hand (rather than to shake hands) and that in provincial cattle or horse markets or in private deals between farmers, such a slap in the hand closes a bargain, and, if performed in the presence of witnesses, is as binding as a signed and sealed contract.—P. 37, l. 6. *Ne faites pas de folies* means 'don't be extravagant' rather than 'do nothing rash.' Gobseck gives this piece of advice because of the readiness with which Derville offers to treat with champagne and partridges. Besides, Gobseck

specifies the *folies* immediately afterward: *Ne prenez pas grand train de maison,* etc.—P. 39, l. 7, *plus occupé de bien digérer:* a note should call attention to this *occupé de,* which means 'concerned with,' and not 'busy with.' A word might also have been devoted to the first *de* of p. 40, l. 3, *vous diriez d'un champ de bataille.*—P. 41, 15. The unfortunate use of *échec* for *brèche* is not noted; *échec* means 'reverse,' 'setback'; one can suffer an *échec,* but *on ne se le fait pas.*—P. 42, 22, *de cabriolet.* Mr. Holbrook, who so carefully notes all such constructions, seems to have overlooked this omission of the article. The same applies to 44, 22.—P. 43, 9, *Mon Gobseck;* in English 'your Gobseck.'—P. 43, l. 24. *Fashionable,* used as a noun is never replaced in modern French by *chic* but by *gommeux, dandy, petit maître, élégant,* etc., and in Balzac's day frequently by *mirliflore.* (See Eugénie Grandet, *passim.*)—P. 44, ll. 7–10, *mais vous êtes aussi des éponges.* The editor interprets: *mais vous aussi, vous êtes des éponges,* which is of course correct. But he then refers to notes on p. 16, l. 28: *Voyons l'existence de plus haut qu'ils ne la voient,* and 18, 7: *et se donneraient en payement plutôt que de ne pas payer.* About the latter he says: "Here again Balzac idiomatically, but illogically, uses the unstressed pronoun, though a special emphasis of the *se* is obviously required." The form of this statement is misleading, as I was able to observe with my students: Modern French does not tolerate stress on *je, tu, il, me, te, se, le.* The case in 44, 7 is not identical. *Vous* may, and as a matter of fact, does have a stress, intensified by the adjunction of *aussi,* which is also stressed. Should the stress be placed on the last word of the clause (*éponges*) as it is in 16, 28, and 18, 7, the meaning would then be quite different, and would be: "You must admit that you are sponges." Cf. *Vous êtes aussi par trop stupide,* where *aussi* has about the same meaning as German *doch.*

P. 51, ll. 16–17, *vous êtes bien difficile à confesser, ma belle dame.* Attention should be called to Gobseck's joke ('you are hard to bring to terms') and to his coarse and improbable familiarity (*ma belle dame*).—P. 55, ll. 22–23, *faire le commerce.* What authority is there for the statement that this implies "crafty dealing"? The *Dict. Gén.* has: "Faire du commerce, vendre, échanger sans être dans le commerce." *Faire le commerce* has the same meaning.—P. 58, l. 15. *Ça m'a l'air* for *cet homme m'a l'air* deserved a brief note.—P. 61, l. 20, *ne fussent-ils que.* Cf. above my remark about p. 22, ll. 19–20. The same applies here; also to 77, 3, *aimât,* and 84, 25–26, *comme eût fait,* forms which though obsolescent are still much alive.—P. 79, l. 16. I doubt whether many students will be able to solve the riddle propounded here. What is there in common between *par le désespoir* and *par bonheur* or *par hasard?* Would it not have been more to the point to ask for the differences between *échevelée par le désespoir* and *elle s'est tuée par désespoir* or *de désespoir; il l'a fait par vanité* and *il a été vaincu par la vanité; il est mort de maladie, il était miné par la maladie, il était atteint d'une maladie grave? Par* in *par le désespoir* means simply 'because of' and there is no need to personify 'despair.'—P. 84, l. 4, *par Haïti.* The article is not omitted "because Haïti is a party to a suit—that is, Haïti personified," but merely because Haïti, like various other names of island-countries, never takes the article.—P. 85, l. 5, *vieille connaissance à moi.* To this H. remarks: "In Old French one might say *une mienne—, un mien—,* etc." We might add that this was rarely used before an adjective, and also that expressions like *un mien ami, un tien parent, une mienne cousine* are still in use. (Cf. Haase, § 17 E.)—P. 86, l. 25, *Lascar.* In the mouth of the people this epithet means hardly more than *le vieux malin, le vieux lapin,* 'the old codger,' 'the old guy.'—P. 97, l. 11, "*qualités,* i. e., *bonnes qualités.*" The wording is unfortunate: since *qualités* are always good, *bonnes* is "de trop."—P. 103, l. 17. Gâvres is an unimportant *seigneurie* outside the walls of Ghent.—P. 109, ll. 21–22, and p. 93, l. 16. While Belgium as a separate kingdom dates only from 1831, it would have been well, in connection with these notes, to remark for the student the long-established application of the name to the region of the South Netherlands.—P. 114, ll.

10–11, *En criant de sa voix, dont. . .* This *sa* is called illogical and *d'une voix* is preferred because "the hag could not have cried with any voice save her own." The construction, illogical though it may seem, is common enough. Cf. *il cria de sa voix de stentor; il me regarda de ses yeux de flamme,* and thence: *de ses yeux qui lançaient des flammes.*—P. 117, l. 6. There seems no good reason for supposing that in mentioning Messalina, Balzac had in mind Lucretia Borgia. The word *cirque* immediately following sufficiently indicates the period of history he had in mind.[1]

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Modern Italian Literature, by Lacy Collison-Morley. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1912. 8vo. viii + 356 pp.

Mr. Collison-Morley's book is the first in English to treat specifically of Italian literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His single hope for the work, according to the modest preface, is that it may increase the number of English readers of the modern Italian writers. That hope will doubtless be richly fulfilled. Mr. Collison-Morley has in exceptional measure the gift of stimulating the desire for first-hand reading of his authors. He is in general free from exaggeration—indeed, his praise is in most cases severely limited—yet he conveys most successfully his impressions of interest and of real value. His choice of illustrative selections is admirable, and his translations are good. Often, instead of venturing critical estimates of his own, he quotes the masters of modern Italian criticism, De Sanctis and Carducci.

But his book is by no means for the general reader only. It is based on careful reading of the standard histories and larger monographs, and of the most important of the works discussed. It is in general accurate, and it is comprehensive and well-proportioned. The original criticism, though slight in amount, is excellent in many instances. The frequent references to the relations of Italian and English writers are especially commendable. The book therefore merits scholarly attention, and becomes the normal text-book for use in courses on Modern Italian Literature.

Unfortunately, though accurate in general, the book is inaccurate in many details,—so inaccurate that it can hardly be read with satisfaction or used to advantage as a text-book unless its many errata are first corrected. With a view to such correction, I submit lists of the errors I have noted. For brevity's sake, I have quoted the defective words or phrases without context.

Page 1, *line* 1: *for* poets *read* poets of the Renaissance.—9, 8: first: best [a few mock-heroic poems were written in the 16th century].—17, 19f: Youth in its prime was strolling: Youth's most select were strolling.— 28, 3: *delete* Hence the delay in its production [the delay was due to the death of Charles VI, for whose birthday it had been written].—34, 10: birthplace: home [Florence was the birthplace of the opera].—38, 9: and to realize: and one of the first to realize [Dante is perfectly clear on this point].—53, 12f: and the variations of these four original masks: and the other masks [there is no basis for speaking of any set of masks as 'the original four'].—53, 20: *delete* like Stendhal [the sentence as it stands implies that Stendhal lived before Goldoni].—58, 25f: relegated the masks of Brighella and Arlecchino to the subordinate position of servants: reduced the importance of the masks [Brighella and Harlequin were servants even in the earliest *Commedia dell'arte*].—59, 23ff: *delete* He had no high ideals or ruling passions. Vice and even crime amused him instead of rousing his indignation, for he was kindly and tolerant of all men [this is quite untrue, except for the words 'he was kindly'].—59, 30 and 60, 17: del: dell'.—61, 6: three: four.—61, 26 and 63, 19: Gasparo: Gaspare.—65, n: was the inventor of: played [Truffaldino antedates Sacchi.].—66, 24ff: *delete* He was no satirist . . . wish to reform it [quite untrue].—69, 4: del: dell'.—70, 10f: *delete* as we gather from the "Famiglia del antiquario" [that play contains no im-

[1] Misprints. Read *les,* 7, 7; *nous les avons entendus dire,* note to 7, 19–20; *Portenduère,* 195.

plication that Goldoni "feels for the misfortunes" of the working classes].—78, 21; 79 *heading* and 24; 80, 6; 81, 12; 82, 13 and 24: Gasparo: Gaspare.— 95, n. 1: carme di: carme del.—98, 20: Costanzi: Di Costanzo.—99, 10: Gasparo: Gaspare.—100, 23: his sister: his (the father's) aunt.—100, 25: aunt: great-aunt.—105, 21 and 27: Brera: the Brera.—108, 28: Gasparo: Gaspare.—116, 5f: *delete* that have been the popular metre in Italy from time immemorial [the stanza of 7- and 8-syllable lines came into Italian verse only in the 17th century].—116, n: 'in colle: o in colli.—120, 23: Gasparo: Gaspare.—120, n: letterarii: letterari.—121, 5: Ciullo: Cielo.—127, 17: the first of which was: the first of which, not counting the *Cleopatra,* was.—148, 25: G. M. Chénier: M.-J. Chénier.—155, 9 and 18: Ulino: Ullino.—160, 23: Sepolcri: Grazie.—160, n: Manzoni e Leopardi: Manzoni, Leopardi.—170, 31f: The third part, to Pallas, in mid-ocean, describes the making of the veil of the Graces: The third part, entitled "Pallas," describes the making of the veil of the Graces on an island in mid-ocean.—185, n: non sorgi un nom che non ci raduni: non sorga un uom che ci raduni.—196, 23: Two priests: A priest and a monk.—199, n. 1: Theilname au Goethe: Theilnahme Goethe's an Manzoni.—210, n: Manzoni e Leopardi: Manzoni, Leopardi.—212, 17: Petrarch: Petrarch and Politian.—224, 21: a': ai.—226, n: di: al.—230, 24: six: seven.—248, 25: *delete* some of them written in the Spielberg [no one of the tragedies was actually written in the Spielberg, and the *Leoniero da Dertona* is the only one that was planned there].—249, 18: The Spielberg: His prison experience [his conversion began in the prison of S. Margherita in Milan].—256, 21: return as brothers: become brothers again.—271, 1: only: chiefly.—278, 13ff: and it was at this time that "Ça irà," celebrating the French Revolution, was written: The "Ça ira," celebrating the French Revolution, was not written, however, until 1883.—282, n. 1: Al: Il.—285, 14: Ovidio: d'Ovidio.—286, 32: d': dell'.—290, 1: Lorenzo: Lorenzino.—320, 1: twice: thirteen times.—322, 10: Manzoni e Leopardi: Manzoni, Leopardi.—325, 28: 1864: 1863.—330, 17: 1883: 1882.—331, 4f: because he is not sure of being able to win her absolute devotion: because he feels himself completely under her power, yet increasingly disgusted by her plebeian traits.—331, 19: 1898: 1900.—334, 32: the period: the late mediaeval period.—335, 2: Figlio: La figlia.—335, n. and 336, n: Grapollo: Gropallo.—336, 8: *delete* Though careless in construction [both of the plays mentioned, and many of the others, are admirable in construction].—337, 6: he based: was based [the libretto is by Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci].—338, 27: Maestro: Mastro.—340, 29: 1903: 1904.—344, 24: 1906: 1905.—345, 17: 1895: 1896.—349, 28: letterarii: letterari.—350, 2: 1908: 1904–1910.—351: Alcamo, Ciullo d': Alcamo, Cielo d'.—352: Chênier, G. M.: Chénier, M.-J.—353: Gozzi, Gasparo: Gozzi, Gaspare.

Typographical errors are the following:

P. 6, l. 9, Findara (for Fiandra); 11, n., zahrhundert; 17, n. 2, disporto; 27, n., risvolo; 33, 21, Sicelie; 35, 20, Baon; 39, 24, commerico; 45, 25, delore; 46, 8, se; 52, 22, vincende; 56, 12, Ghisleri (for Ghislieri); 60, 3, Fortunato (for fortunata); 60, 31, Villegiatura; 60, 32, triology; 66, n, Conserverme (for Conserveme); 69, 21, Buggiardo; 72, 15, prigionere; 74, 17, Guilio; 77, 1, je june; 77, 26, Betinelli; 82, n., lezzioni; 84, 25, scurge; 89, 6, da; 109, n. 1, cingite; 110, 6, si; 116, n., se; 118, n. 2, c; 121, 11, Sissaro (for Sisara); 130, 10, tryannised; 134, n. 2, lo (for Io); Fillipo; 160, 11, Zamella; 161, 22, Teotocchi (for Teotochi); 170, 21, Bignani (for Bignami); 172, 15, in; 179, 12, Conciliatere; 186, 20, 1820 (for 1829); 187, n., Pol; 188, n., Risosospingerla; 190, 16, adopted (for adapted); 197, n. 1, corraggio; 202, 19, infama; 208, 14, 1879 (for 1789); 214, 13, Alter; 216, 8, prescribed (for proscribed); 224, 21, 1882 (for 1822); 224, 31, se; 226, n., se; 259, 3, nationalties; 263, *heading,* Guisti; 265, 2, Aruffa; 266, 25, Patrioti; 268, 28, L'l; 271, 23, 1757 (for 1857); 275, 12, Idillo Maremmiano; 281, n. 1, Muiono; trouchi; 281, n. 2, allegiarni (for aleggiarmi); 282, n. 2, sicuola; 286, 30, Sîrmione; Jaufrè; 288, 27, Retmi; 289, 5, Ca; 304, 31, asili'; 309, 21, Sto (for Sto.); 315, 24, correzzioni; 316, 3, Biamonti; 319, n., Antalogia; 323, n. 1, ne (twice); 324, 16, Birchino; 324, n., affanati (for affamati); ne; 326, 21, Rimè; 326, n., mai; 328, n., saugue; 329, 11, gioïre; 331, 31, si; non; 334, 17, Seperelli (for Sperelli); 336, 14, duc; 344, 7, Foggazzaro; 347, 11, Raccouti; 351, Bêranger; 352, Farini, Liugi.

There are several matters of critical judgment in which Mr. Collison-Morley seems to me quite wrong. I should take exception to all of these statements:

Page 12: Of course, great poetry was impossible in the circumstances.—27: this experience . . . gave his [Metastasio's] work . . . a majestic dignity.—28: Metastasio learnt how to

draw the dignified Roman to perfection.—46: This work [*Dei delitti e delle pene*] produced as important results as any that has ever been published.—53: Alfieri and Goldoni hardly rank among the world's greatest dramatists.—88: [Tiraboschi's] book . . . is far better than anything of the kind that has appeared before or since.—132: an age when action was impossible.—135: There is little variety in Alfieri's tragedies.—138: [Alfieri] cannot be ranked among the world's great tragic poets.—199: Manzoni has none of Scott's breadth and range and wealth of creative power.—212: [Dante seems] to draw . . . inspiration through a profound knowledge of literature rather than from a direct contact with life itself.—269: [Prati] is . . . a finished artist in verse.—270: [Zanella] is too placid, too self-conscious to be a real lyric poet . . . He is now only remembered by his "Conchiglia fossile," which is by far the best of his poems.

The introductory chapter, on the seventeenth century, is poorly proportioned. Davila, Bentivoglio, and Sforza Pallavicino are mentioned, while Galileo and Boccalini receive only three or four lines apiece, and Lippi, Rosa, Buonarroti the Younger, and Sagredo are not mentioned at all. Mascheroni is certainly important enough to be treated among the writers of the eighteenth century, and Fucini to be treated among those of the nineteenth.

It is to be hoped that the style of the book will be revised for a second edition. Possessive adjectives are used with a most promiscuous indefiniteness, and the careless location of clauses leads to surprising effects:

Page 33: Galvani's electrical experiments on frogs, which were perfected by Volta in his invention of the electric pile, have raised both men to the first rank in the scientific world.—34: Vico's father was a bookseller. A bad fall in his childhood, which actually cracked his skull-bone, put an end to his early gaiety.—137: As is usual in his tragedies, Saul does not appear till the second act.—228: and then he virtually dies with a shower of her kisses on his lips.—229: He was passionately fond of music, but, though very short-sighted, he always refused to wear glasses.—230: the neighborhood of Vesuvius . . . is certainly more calculated to impress us with the littleness of man, especially during an eruption, than any other district in Italy.—336: After trying historical plays, in which Felice Cavallotti (1842-98), "the last of the romantics," as Carducci called him, who was killed in a duel, also obtained considerable success, he turned to modern comedy.

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Wörterbuch und Reimverzeichnis zu Dem Armen Heinrich Hartmanns von Aue von G. C. L. Riemer. (Hesperia Nr. 3.) Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press), 1912. 162 pp.

This dictionary to Hartmann's *Armer Heinrich* is, as stated in the Preface, modeled on Benecke's *Wörterbuch zu Hartmanns Iwein* and is intended to serve the purposes of the beginner as well as of the scholar. As in Benecke, each citation is given in the form of a complete phrase or clause, a feature that has swelled the size of the book, but which also greatly facilitates its use. The analysis of the meanings of individual words has found a rather fuller treatment than in the dictionary of Benecke.

Even for so short a poem as the *Armer Heinrich* the preparation of a complete glossary in the manner indicated is no small undertaking. The author has performed his task with a thoroughness and accuracy that will compare favorably with any similar work.

As to typography, it is somewhat startling to see the Middle High German text printed in *Fraktur*,—it takes one back to the edition of the *Armer Heinrich* by the Grimms. Especially such a form as biß (=*diss*) has an odd look. However, the font of *Fraktur* employed is a beautiful one and the general effect pleasing. *Antiqua* is used in the italic form only, a restriction that unfortunately makes impossible a distinction in typography between the definition and the designation of the grammatical category, of a word (abe, ab *präp. von, herab von, weg von*).

The textual basis is the edition of Paul, but variants in the texts of Haupt, Wackernagel, and Bech are registered with the minutest care. It would seem however that here the necessities

of the beginner rather than the needs of the scholar had been consulted. Editions lack the element of stability, and if variants are to be considered to the extent here done, MS. variants rather than variant textual readings deserve to be introduced as the more lasting in value. This principle is in the present instance all the more applicable since the MS. tradition of the *Armer Heinrich* is extremely limited. The critical edition of Gierach (*Germanische Bibliothek*, III, 3), which has just appeared, may be used to illustrate the point involved. In a section of one hundred lines (1001–1100) selected at random we find at least four variant readings of some importance that are adopted by Gierach on the MS. authority of either A or B and which under the method adopted by the author are not recorded in the *Wörterbuch*. The instances are: *senfterte* (1036), *des* (1048), *wîste* (1072), *bedenkest* (1077).

The Appendix (pp. 137–161) contains: 1. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Wörter, die bei Paul gar nicht oder in ganz anderer Form vorkommen. 2. Reimverzeichnis. 3. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Reimworte. The last of these could with advantage be eliminated by marking with an asterisk in the dictionary proper all references in which a form occurs in rime-position.

The *Reimverzeichnis* distinguishes all ambiguous forms; even double meanings (*e. g. gemach*) are carefully differentiated. The double entry of each rime-pair (*mac : tac* under both *mac* and *tac*) seems unnecessarily cumbersome and does not promote perspicuity. I should instead favor an alphabetical arrangement, an inverse order in any single rime-pair being indicated by an asterisk preceding the number. As this question of method is of some practical importance for the compilation or publication of similar lists in the future, the two methods may perhaps be illustrated in the case of a single rime-ending.

er sach: er sprach 1242. 1272. 1492. ez geschach 128. 402. er jach 1198. er ensach: das gemach (*'Zimmer'*) 1181. er ersach: ez geschach 1282. er sprach 629. daz ungemach 990. er versach: ez geschach 970. er sprach 1107; er sprach: er sach 1241. 1271. 1491. er ersach 630. er versach 1108. er zerbrach 382. 858. er gesprach: er gebrach 620; ez geschach: er sach 127. 401. er ersach 1281. er versach 969. daz gemach 142. 294. daz ungemach 271; daz gemach: ez geschach 141. 293. er ensach (:*'Zimmer'*) 1182. daz ungemach: er ersach 989. ez geschach 272. er zerbrach 1045; er zerbrach: er sprach 381. 857. daz ungemach 1046; er gebrach: er gesprach 619; er jach: er sach 1197.

Rearranging this in accordance with the method suggested, we have:

er gebrach: er gesprach *619. er zerbrach: daz ungemach 1045. :er sprach *381, *857. er jach: er sach *1197. daz gemach (*'Zimmer'*): er ensach 1181. gemach ('Behaglichkeit'): ez geschach *141, *293. daz ungemach: er ersach *989. :ez geschach 271. er sach: ez geschach 127, 401. :er sprach 1241, 1271, 1491. er ersach: ez geschach 1281. :er sprach *629. er versach: ez geschach 969. :er sprach *1107.

It will be seen that of two rime words the one whose riming syllable comes first alphabetically is for purposes of arrangement made the basic one. Compounds follow their simplex in the alphabetic order of their prefixes. Any given rime-pair can thus be instantly found.

As to details, the remark under *beginnen:* "beim Übersetzen öfters zu unterdrücken" might well have been somewhat enlarged on. The suggestion made above, that position in rime be indicated in the body of the dictionary by asterisks, here also finds welcome illustration. Such a device would have shown at a glance that as between *begunde* and *began,* the two preterit forms of *beginnen, begunde* stands in rime position only once out of a total of sixteen times, whereas the two instances of *began* are both found in rime.—In *ein ganziu krône der zuht* (l. 63) *ganziu* is hardly to be interpreted 'nicht entzwei' but rather, under category 2) as 'vollkommen' (*perfect*). Compare *e. g. ganze kunst ze ritterschaft,* Gregorius 1994.—In connection with the form *jugende* (l. 34) a reference to the conclusions of Kraus, *Das sogenannte zweite Büchlein* (Festgabe für Richard Heinzel), p. 139, seems called for.—Similarly under *sô* and *sus* I miss a statement

of the distinction pointed out by Sievers, PBB. xii, 498.—An examination of another copy besides my own has shown that the misprint (Riemer, p. 162) in Haupt's edition of *do* for *dô* (l. 987) is merely an instance of a broken type.—The proof reading has been done with extreme care; there are practically no misprints. Under *gemach*, p. 35, read *Behaglichkeit* for *Behaglichheit; dräd.* for *präp.* on p. 136, l. 1, doubtless slipped in after the final revision.

In conclusion it may be in place to state that at least two of the general strictures above made would apply with equal force to other works of this nature, whether glossaries or rime-indices, and that they do not affect the general character of the book, which remains a model of good workmanship.

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L. Tesson, *Méthode naturelle et rationnelle pour apprendre en même temps à parler correctement, à lire et à écrire le français.* Paris: Amat, 1913. 96 pp.

This booklet begins, az evry modern-langwej primer shood, with sounds. But unfortunetly the author's sound-sistem iz not compleet. It has no means ov showing the diffrence between *mettre* and *maître*. It lacs simbols for voisless *l* and voisless *r*, altho thees sounds ar recwired in the pauzal forms ov werds like *ample* and *encre*. Az it iz a common (and, to sensitiv ears, extreemly unplezant) mistake amung foreners to uze voist *l* and voist *r* hwær the voisless sounds ar needed, the author iz rong in saying (p. 16) that foreners can lern to pronounse French corectly by folloing his transcripcions.

The kee-werds given for wone sound ov *o* ar *homme* and *vieillot*. This iz misleading; in normal French *vieillot* rimes with *chaud*. Curiusly enuf the author rites "paltô" (p. 51) and "arikô" (p. 57) with the same clôs *o* az in *chapeau*.

I do not think môst teachers wood like the sistem ov transcripcion: "ho-" for *chou* seems rather od, and wood repel enybody hoo, eether in theory or in practis, distingwishes the sound *h*. The hihly punctuated efect ov the sistem cood be lessend by uzing (hwich wood harmonize with the author's *w* for the corresponding semivouel) insted ov "o-"; *h* insted ov ",u"; *œ* insted ov "e-"; and *ñ* insted ov "g-". The texts contain meny mistakes; evidently the author iz not skild in the art ov transcripcion.

In the last therd ov the werk, orthografy iz gradualy mixt with the fonetic forms. Thus the lerner begins with "bôko-" (not "bôk-o" az misprinted on p. 57); then come "bôko-u" (p. 63), "bôko-up" (p. 68), "bôco-up" (p. 72), "bea:co-up" (p. 80) and finaly *beaucoup*. I do not like this plan; it seems a needless waste ov time, even if it iz not actualy harmful, to teach enything besides fonetic spelling and orthografy.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Untermeyer and Ratisbonne

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In a publication of some fifty years ago I note a French poem which has a striking parallel in a very recent American magazine. The American poem is by Mr. Louis Untermeyer, and is to be found in the August number of *Harper's*, page 398. Here it is:

Folk Song

Back she came through the flaming dusk,
And her mother spoke and said:
"What gives your eyes that dancing light,
What makes your lips so strangely bright,
And why are your cheeks so red?"
"Oh, mother, the berries I ate in the lane
Have left a stain."

Back she came through the faltering dusk
And her mother spoke and said:
"You are weeping, your footstep is heavy with care,
What makes you totter and cling to the stair,
And why do you hang your head?"
"Oh, mother—oh, mother, you never can know—
I loved him so!"

The French poem is by Louis Ratisbonne (1827–1900), a fairly good poet of the second Parnasse, noted chiefly for his translation of the Divine Comedy. This poem can be found in the *Revue Germanique,* Vol. 18 (1861), page 128, and in a volume of verse entitled *Les Figures Jeunes,* Paris, J. Hetzel, 1865, page 155. Here it is:

LA TRAHISON

Ballade Finlandaise

La jeune fille entrait. Sa mère, en la voyant,
Lui dit: "Comme tes mains sont rouges, mon enfant!"

"Ma mère, j'ai cueilli de fraîches églantines
Et je me suis piqué les doigts dans les épines."

La jeune fille entrait. Sa mère, en l'embrassant,
Lui dit: "Comme ta bouche est pourpre, mon enfant!"

"Je le crois; j'ai goûté les fruits de la bruyère.
Leur suc aura rougi mes lèvres, bonne mère!"

Le lendemain elle entre, et sa mère en criant:
"Oh! comme ton visage est pâle, mon enfant!"

"Prépare mon linceul et mon lit sous la terre,
Et sur ma tombe écris ceci, ma pauvre mère:

Un jour elle rentra, du rouge à chaque main.
Un homme les avait étreintes en chemin.

Et sur ma tombe écris ceci, ma pauvre mère:
L'homme avec un baiser, les avait allumées.

Puis un jour elle entra pâle jusqu'à mourir.
Cet homme, qu'elle aimait, venait de la trahir!"

Whether the idea was suggested to Mr. Untermeyer by the French or not, he alone can tell. If not, this is certainly a peculiar coincidence, for the similarity of the two poems is undeniable in subject, imagery, and wording. The rather colorless title of the English would even be explained by the French sub-title. Of the two poems Mr. Untermeyer's is decidedly superior, as it is more condensed in form, more varied in meter, has more suspense and suggestiveness, and ends more effectively. Therefore, whether Mr. Untermeyer's poem is totally original or not, he deserves hearty congratulations.

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THE BROOK SIMILE IN THE *Mirrour of Knighthood* AND WITH SHAKESPEARE

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—This beautiful simile occurs in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona,* II, vii, 1–38. The corresponding passage in the *Mirrour of Knighthood* runs as follows:

My heart will burst except it be discharg'd,
Of his huge load, that doth oppresse it so:
Streames stopt, oreflow the bankes, if not enlarg'd,
And fire supprest, doth much more fiercer grow.
Great woes tipt vp, but halfe the woe remaines;
But paines concealde, doth aggrauate the paines.[1]

As the simile does not occur in the Spanish original (1587) one would naturally be inclined to suppose that the English translator borrowed it from Shakespeare, if the selfsame simile did not appear again in a play of Calderón—*El Castillo de Lindabrídis*—founded on the *Mirrour of Knighthood,* in the following form:

Cor. 1. A la sombra de un monte eminente,
Que es pira inmortal,
Se desangra un arroyo por venas
De plata torcida y hilado cristal.

Cor. 2. Sierpecilla escamada de flores,
Intenta correr,
Cuando luego detienen sus pasos
Prisiones suaves de rosa y clavel.

Cor. 1. Detenido en los troncos, suspende
El curso veloz,
Y adquiriendo caudales de nieve,
Malogra la rosa y tronca la flor.

Cor. 2. A las ondas del Nilo furioso
Se arroja á morir,
Y parece su espuma una línea,
Que labra dibujos de plata y marfil.

Cor. 1. Ay de las lágrimas mias,
Que, siendo tú arroyo y fuente,
Las entregué á tus cristales,
Y en el mar de amor se pierden.[2]

[1] *The Eighth Booke of the Myrror of Knighthood. Being the third of the third Part.* Englished out of the Spanish tongue. London. Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burbey, 1599. sig. K verso.

[2] *Las Comedias de D. Pedro Calderon* por Juan Jorge Keil. Leipsique, 1830, t. IV, p. 691.

In conclusion I copy the allusion to the pilgrim such as it stands in the *Mirrour of Knighthood:*

But alas, that I must like a Pilgrime
Wander a whole age thus through regions so remote,
Kingdomes farre distant, where I wish in vaine to beholde thee,
Where new sprung dangers hourely delaie my returne
From thy sight banished, whose siluer rayes be so splendent
That therewith dazled, *Cynthia* hideth her head!
Expect yet do *I* still, and that day daily do looke for,
In thy sweete presence once yet againe to reioyce
Conuerting sadnesse to gladnesse, sorrow to singing:
Rapte in blisse, then *I* shall perpetually tryumph.
In meane time resting on this so sacred a comfort,
This thy want perforce with patience *I* do beare,
Till the raging tempest of Fortunes fury be ore-blow'n,
And *I* of all turmoyles shall haue a happie release.[3]

The Spanish original is as follows:

Pena me es el andar de gente en gente
con disfraçado ser peregrinando,
sin la luz clara de aquel Sol de Oriẽte.
Pero al fin vivo alegre, imaginando,
que cõ tornar a verla ha de ser cierto
levantar para amarme nuevo vando,
Con la esperança de tan fresco puerto
pagare la borrasca rigurosa,
hasta que calme el mar y a cielo abierto
goze aquella gloria milagrosa.[4]

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FIELDING'S FIRST POEM TO WALPOLE AND HIS GARRET IN 1730

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, 1763, V, 117–118, is *A Letter to Sir Robert Walpole. By the late Henry Fielding, Esq;* that is a variant of *To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, (Now Earl of Orford) Written in the Year 1730* ("While at the Helm of State you ride") printed in the 1743 editions of Fielding's *Miscellanies*, I, 41–43. Dodsley's version has 41 verses as against 60 of the *Miscellanies*, which is the text printed by Browne and by Henley in their editions of Fielding's works. Only verses 1–3, 5–6, 12, 17, 18, 26–29, 31–2, 34–6, 39–40, 43–4, of the *Miscellany* or ordinary text, agree wholly in wording with the Dodsley version. Dodsley omits *Miscellany* verses 7, 14, 15, 21–4, 45–6, 47–60; has the parallels to 17–20 follow the correspondent of 42; adds two verses between 4 and 5, and two after 46, so concluding the poem; and has verbal variants of verses 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 25, 30, 33, 37, 38, 41, 42, 19, 20. The punctuation and the capitalization in parallel lines vary considerably. The *Miscellany* version is much the more pointed, direct, familiar and easy—in all respects the superior one. It is to be noted that Dodsley has not the familiar concluding verses, with their declaration

Tuscan and *French* are in my Head;
Latin I write, and *Greek* I—— read.

In the *Modern Language Review* of January, 1912, I have shown that Fielding modified at least a part of his *Of Good Nature* between 1739 and its issue in the *Miscellanies* of 1743. The Dodsley version may be the earlier of the two forms of the piece to Walpole, but it looks like an emasculated later text. The detail, the point, and the personal touches of the *Miscellany* text, would perhaps be the product of off-hand composition, rather than of an elaboration of the shorter version.

It is worth noting that the *Miscellany* lines 25–30 may give a true hint of the location of Fielding's "garret" in 1730:

We're often taught it doth behove us
To think those greater who're above us.
Another Instance of my Glory,
Who live above you twice two Story,
And from my Garret can look down
On the whole Street of *Arlington*.

[3] The Eighth Booke of the *Myrror of Knighthood*, sig. Ii *verso*.

[4] *Espeio de Principes y Cavalleros*. Quarta parte, Alcalá de Henares, 1623 (1st ed. 1587), Fol. 69.

The first line here reads in Dodsley: "Besides, we're taught, it does behove us;" and the last, "As from a hill, on half the town." The *Miscellany* version has a foot-note on the last line here: "Where the present Lord *Orford* then lived." The Arlington Street in question is Arlington Street, Piccadilly, running at right angles to Piccadilly Road. Speaking of this Arlington Street, W. W. Hutchins, in *London Town Past and Present,* II, 709, says: "Sir Robert Walpole came to live here in 1716, on the west side of the street, in a house (on the site of the present No. 17) in which Horace was born and here he remained until about 1742, when he bought a smaller house (No. 5) on the east side, dying there in 1745, and leaving it to Horace, who lived in it until in 1779 he removed to Berkeley Square. No. 5 now bears a tablet of the Society of Arts which connects it with the father but ignores the son." The end of Arlington Street opposite to Piccadilly Road was and is closed. If there is any fidelity to fact in the line of the poem, in 1730 Fielding lived probably on Piccadilly Road within a few doors of its junction with Arlington Street. Piccadilly Road in 1730 was built up beyond Arlington Street and had already come to have a very mixed population, so that the greater folk were driven into the cross streets (see Knight, *London,* 1841, I, 311).

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THE PEDIGREE OF A "WESTERN" SONG

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The song *The Little Old Sod Shanty on My Claim* has, or has had, no little currency in the Middle West. It is printed among Mr. J. A. Lomax's *Cowboy Songs,*[1] and is included among the folk songs known in Missouri which have been listed by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society. Copies of it have been secured by the present writer from Nebraska and from Wyoming. It is marked by higher poetical quality than are the majority of pieces "preserved by ear rather than by eye," alongside which it exists in Western popular song.

The hinges are of leather and the windows have no glass,
While the board roof lets the howling blizzards in,
And I hear the hungry cayote as he slinks up through the grass
Round the little old sod shanty on my claim.

In view of the conspicuousness of *The Little Old Sod Shanty* among collections of Western lyrics, and of the somewhat special quality evinced by the text, it is of interest to trace—so far as may be—its history. Like so many "Western" songs when their genealogy is followed out, it is not an indigenous piece, but is an adaptation of an older song having great popularity in its day, namely, *The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane,*[2] a negro melody of the type familiarized by Stephen C. Foster's *My Old Kentucky Home,* or by *The Suanee River.*

De hinges dey got rusted, an' de door has tumbled down,
An' de roof lets in de sunshine an' de rain,
An' de only friend I've got now is dis good old dog of mine,
In de little old log cabin in de lane.

According to Mr. A. J. Leach, secretary and historian of the Antelope County (Nebraska) pioneers, and others of his community, *The Little Old Sod Shanty* was printed in many Nebraska newspapers about thirty or thirty-five years ago with the statement that it could be sung to the tune of *The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane.* Mr. Leach says that he "has somewhere a photograph of The Little Old Sod Shanty, and on the reverse side of the card are printed the words of the song." These cards "were printed and sold in Nebraska about thirty or thirty-five years ago."[3]

[1] New York, 1910.

[2] Printed in *A Treasury of Song,* New York and Boston, 1882, vol. I, as "by permission," and doubtless accessible in many other old-fashioned popular collections.

[3] Some residents of Lancaster County give testimony to the same effect.

The parody adapting the negro song to Western conditions was written, Mr. Leach thinks, by some one in Nebraska. Next—to continue the history of the song—C. W. Fry wrote a religious lyric entitled *The Lily of the Valley* and Ira D. Sankey adapted to it the melody of *The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane.* To the same tune is sung also *I Have Found a Friend in Jesus.* In Hymn No. 102 of the familiar, or once familiar, *Gospel Hymns No. 5* is to be found the music which serves for the four songs, the negro melody, the "Western" piece, and the two religious songs.

Most of Mr. Lomax's versions of *The Little Old Sod Shanty on My Claim,* he assures the present writer, come from Nebraska and the Dakotas, and this circumstance supports a Mid-West origin for the adaptation, which was then, in all probability, given currency in the manner sketched by Mr. Leach.

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BRIEF MENTION

The reproduction of the Märchen in their original form (*Die Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm in ihrer Urgestalt,* hrsg. v. Friedrich Panzer, 2 vols., München, Beck) a hundred years after their first publication (1812–15) is meant to serve scientific as well as belletristic interests. The first edition of the Märchen has become one of the rarest of books and the reprinting therefore meets a real need of the student of literature as well as folklore. Whether it will also interest a wider public, and whether in the words of the publisher's announcement—the editor[1] himself is more guarded in his statements—the book is to be recommended "als diejenige (Ausgabe), die die ursprüngliche Schlichtheit, Volkstümlichkeit und Innigkeit, das Kindliche, Keusche . . . am unverfälschtesten wiedergibt" is a larger and more debatable question. The Introduction gives many interesting, and a number of new facts concerning the genesis of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen,* and without entering into great detail discusses the differences between the first and the later editions as regards both matter and style. The original paging is not preserved, but otherwise the reprint is an exact one, even the original spelling and punctuation being preserved. In view of the superb mechanical execution, the price (M. 11.—) of the two volumes is perhaps none too high.

[1] Compare also ZfdU., xxvii, 501 f.

Under the title *Abriss der deutschen Wortbildungslehre* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1913) Professor Kluge has published in the "Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte hrsg. von W. Braune" a more inclusive German pendant to his *Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte.* While primarily intended for use in connection with a course of lectures,—as shown among other things by its use of abbreviations, references, and technical terms—the little booklet of sixty-eight pages gives a most readable account of the salient features of German word-formation. Chronologic and dialectic differences are pointed out in a manner that is most interesting and that betrays the hand of one whose life has been devoted to the history of words from their formal side. A comparison with the corresponding chapters of Willmanns's *Deutsche Grammatik* will show how individual and suggestive Professor Kluge's treatment is. The stores of the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung,* which the author has for many years so ably edited, have, of course, been widely drawn upon.

Hermann Büttner's *Wörterbuch für den Gebrauch der Präpositionen im Französischen* (Marburg, Elwert, 1913. 190 pp.) is a compendium in a domain where adequate information is difficult of access. He offers only a scanty analysis of the individual prepositions, the main section of the book being an alphabetical list of substantives with examples of the various prepositions with which they may be joined. This dictionary forms a convenient complement to the discussion of prepositional usage in Plattner's *Ausführliche Grammatik,* where the material, readily accessible through the lexicon which constitutes Part V, is distributed either under the preposition employed or under the word on which the preposition de-

pends. Since the information contained in Büttner's work, when found at all in general dictionaries, is frequently to be located only after considerable search, it is convenient to have a mass of it brought together in a form easily handled, but its value and the assurance of its reliability would be largely increased by citation of the source of the illustrations, and it is to be hoped that the labor involved will not deter the author from making this radical improvement in a later edition.

In a privately printed *Essai sur les origines du Romancero. Prélude.* (Paris, 1912), R. Foulché-Delbosc announces his intention to "déterminer ici quelle est la part de la vérité et de l'erreur dans certaines affirmations récentes de M. Menéndez Pidal," with special reference to the *Epopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole.* His conclusions are briefly as follows: 1) What are generally known as the early popular ballads are not the output of the ignorant folk nor do they represent a gradual evolution from the decadent *Cantares de Gesta.* Each such ballad had "un auteur bien individualisé, amateur ou professionnel." The primitive form of the *Cabalga Diego Lainez* is that found in the *Cancionero de 1550.* 2) There is no essential difference between the so-called popular ballads and the *romances juglarescos.* 3) All *romances fronterizos* are not contemporary accounts of real events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; some at least are later in date than the events they describe, and the events are partly or wholly imaginary. In proof of this last deduction Foulché-Delbosc studies in a masterly way the ballads *Cercada tiene a Baeça, Por Guadalquivir arriba,* and *Ay Dios que buen cavallero,* with results so forceful that we await eagerly his promised study of "comment et à quelle époque le Romancero a pris naissance." While the tone of the pamphlet is milder than in certain previous controversial writings from the same pen, the author can not be taxed with excessive suavity or dignity of style. Furthermore, Menéndez Pidal is accused of not having proved his theories, which are the contrary of those outlined above. It should be remembered, however, that the *Epopée castillane,* published in 1910, represents a series of popular lectures, and hence is not a suitable medium for presenting analytical minutiae or detailed constructive arguments. Since 1910 Menéndez Pidal has been preparing what will doubtless be another of his monumental contributions, a Spanish ballad collection; and we look forward with keen interest to the fuller expression of his views on the origins of the Romancero.

Some years ago the Prussian Academy of Sciences undertook, under the general editorship of Erich Schmidt and Bernhard Seuffert, the preparation of a critical edition of Wieland. Since the death of Erich Schmidt the work is being continued by Seuffert, who has also at various times, in the Transactions of the Academy, published "Prolegomena zu einer Wieland Ausgabe." A number of volumes of the edition have already appeared.

An American scholar, in a pamphlet just published by the Academy, *Die Doppeldrucke in ihrer Bedeutung für die Textgeschichte von Wielands Werken* by W. Kurrelmeyer, Abh. der Preuss. Ak. der Wiss., 1913, phil.-hist. Classe, Nr. 7, now shows that the assumptions on which the criticism of the text has hitherto rested need radical revision. Originally prepared as a paper for a meeting of the Modern Language Association, the investigation has since been greatly widened in scope, in that the separate printings (E) of the several works are now also taken into account. The question of 'Doppeldrucke' and their importance for textual criticism has before engaged the author, so e. g. in "Zu den Doppeldrucken von Goethes Werken, 1806–1808," *Modern Language Notes,* XXVII, 174–176. In the present instance the results are most striking and of fundamental importance. While the existence of 'Doppeldrucke' of Wieland was known before, their number was underrated and their importance for the constitution of the text not fully understood. For the 'Ausgabe letzter Hand,' where the existence of 'Doppeldrucke' had not even been suspected, Kurrelmeyer has, in the case of Volume 14, found as many as six printings. The general result is that in numerous instances supplemental corrections for the volumes already issued will have to be made in the critical apparatus, which is to appear later. The enormous difficulties with which such investigations, involving the examination of scores of original prints, have to contend on this side of the water make the credit for the achievement of these signal results all the greater.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE IDENTITY OF SOMAIZE

I

Somaize owes his standing in the literary history of France almost entirely to his testimony concerning *préciosité*. Among the immediate witnesses of that social and literary manifestation, he is the most notable because of his uncommon and special interest in it. Molière, Furetière, the abbé d'Aubignac, the abbé de Pure paid their respects to the *précieuses* by writing about them in an occasional and incidental manner: but Somaize appears to have made them his paramount study. Of the twelve works ascribed to him,[1] seven deal specifically with the *précieuses*. Three more works, *Alcippe ou du choix des Galants, La Politique des Coquettes, Le Voyageur fortuné dans les Indes du Couchant ou l'amant heureux, contenant la découverte des terres inconnues qui sont au-delà des trois villes de Tendre,*[2] are mainly concerned with them. From the historical investigations made by Livet and Mr. Baldensperger[3] on the *précieux* and *précieuses* of Paris and Lyons, it is clear that Somaize kept an extensive and rather accurate directory of such persons. He is the only writer of the seventeenth century who seems to have realized that in *préciosité* he was observing a curious phenomenon worth recording. Whether or not he felt, as Mr. Brunot[4] and others have done, that the *précieuses* were having a powerful and beneficial effect on the French language and on the constitution of modern grammar, it has not been possible to determine as yet with precision, owing to apparent inconsistencies in his work. However that may be, his acumen in comprehending that something out of the ordinary was happening to the French language is undeniable.

To what extent he was serious in his evidence is a question that ought to be settled before his authority is accepted with the confidence characterizing so many of the historians and critics who have consulted him. His writings, as everybody knows, are valuable only for their substance, and not for their style. A "control" will some day have to be established over his testimony. The truth of the statement, for example, contained in the *privilège du roy* over the signature of Ballesdens[5] regarding the connection of the *Dictionnaire des Précieuses* with *les meilleurs romans du temps* will have to be either accepted or modified. It will be obligatory to determine whether Somaize collected his specimens of *préciosité* in the way mentioned by Ballesdens or manufactured most of them on a slender basis of fact: whether he wished to put on record a phase of the civilization of his day or, as a good *bourgeois,* desired to ridicule a deplorable tendency toward affectation which he had observed in some of his acquaintances. If, along with Molière and two or three other men, he succeeded in staying the advance of what may be termed Romanticism in language, he deserves to rank among the foremost defenders of plain and homely French speech and among the pioneers in the struggle between the Classicists and the Romanticists.

His testimony, accordingly, if true, is extremely valuable. It happens, however, that the critics are by no means unanimous as to how much weight should be given to it. This uncertainty cannot be removed without a clearer understanding of the character of the man. As, unfortunately, we know next to nothing about him, his entire personality being shrouded in mystery, it would seem that criticism had entered an *impasse* and that the opinions concerning Somaize's worth would have to continue divided.

[1] Cf. *The Case of Somaize, MLN.*, Feb., 1913.

[2] Cf. Emile Roy, *Charles Sorel,* pp. 201, 260, 270.

[3] Cf. Ch.-L. Livet, *Dict. des Préc.* and F. Baldensperger, *Ét. d'Hist. litt.,* 2e série, *La Société préc. de Lyon,* etc., Paris, 1910.

[4] Cf. Brunot in Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la litt.,* etc., Vol. IV, pp. 783–784.

[5] Cf. *Case of Somaize, MLN.*, Feb., 1913, p. 38.

It is the purpose of this paper to try to open the way for a more accurate appreciation of Somaize. The mystery surrounding him is, it seems to the writer, not impenetrable. His writings afford clues to some of his relationships, to some of his tastes, to some of his ideas. Through these and other vital facts it ought to be possible to identify him. Having identified him,—for this fundamental problem has not yet been solved,—we shall have very little further trouble with Somaize's evidence. The writer, as has been indicated in a previous discussion, believes Somaize to be a fictitious character and not the actual person hitherto accepted by students of the seventeenth century. It is his conviction that the identity of Somaize can, even at this late date, be discovered: and it is as a contribution to this quest that he presents the following exposition.

If, now, assuming the non-entity of Somaize as an actual person, it can be demonstrated that most of the clues referred to lead to a particular writer of the seventeenth century contemporary with Somaize, and if the identity of that writer with Somaize can be established with practical certainty, we shall have the advantage of getting rid of an unknown quantity in the history of seventeenth-century literature: we shall be in a position to do greater justice to the reputation of a quixotic character whose varied works are a gold-mine of historical, social, and literary information: and we shall know definitely Somaize's genuine attitude toward *préciosité,* thus setting at rest the numerous conjectures as to his perfect sincerity or lack of it toward the *précieuses.*

The man for whom the claim of identity with Somaize is to be established must have, among others, the following qualifications, which are prominent in Somaize.

1. He must be a prolific and mediocre writer. Within four years—from 1657, when he first appeared, until 1661, when he disappeared from sight—Somaize produced at least 15 works, of greater or less length, in a generally clear but unfelicitous style.

2. He must be a born pamphleteer, as was Somaize.

3. He must be an adept at literary hoaxing, since, if Somaize was a fictitious character, his creator, whoever he may have been, exhibited extreme cleverness in being able to have Somaize accepted as a real person for more than 250 years. This, too, in spite of the large amount of attention paid to him since 1856, when Livet began to investigate his work.

4. He must be dominated by an interest in *préciosité.* As I have stated, it is that interest which almost exclusively engages the attention of Somaize.

5. He must be well acquainted with the *précieuses* and *précieux.* Somaize's *Dictionnaire* deals with 600 of the tribe.[6]

6. He must be hostile to Molière. Larroumet has pointed out that Somaize was the first man to attack Molière in print.[7]

7. He must be hostile to Boisrobert. Somaize began his public career by criticising the merry abbé's *Théodore* and declaring that a certain prince had had Boisrobert caned, not by a regiment of soldiers nor even of pages, but by mere stable-boys.[8]

8. He must see in Balzac a persistent *précieux.* Somaize gives numerous examples of *préciosité* for which Belisandre—that is, Balzac—is responsible.[9]

9. He must believe the *précieux* to have begun their mannerisms at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. Somaize includes Malherbe and Corneille among the *précieux.*

10. He must be addicted to needlessly coarse expressions. Under *cul, chien,* and the sign *&* in his *Dictionnaire,* Somaize shows an evident relish in departing from conventional gentility of language.

11. He must be a partisan of simplified spelling. The caption *orthographe* in the *Dictionnaire* is followed by a discussion of simplified spelling and a list of suggested improvements, such as *téte* for *teste, prône* for *prosne, auteur* for *autheur, hôtel* for *hostel.*

[6] Cf. Livet, *Précieux,* etc., p. xxviii.

[7] Larroumet, *Ét. de litt.,* p. 8.

[8] Cf. Larroumet, *ibid.,* pp. 5, 6, and Somaize, *Procez des Prét.,* ed. Livet, pp. 101, 102, and Somaize, *Vérit. Prét.,* p. 37.

[9] Cf. Somaize, *Dict. des Préc.,* I, pp. 82, 101, 117, etc.

12. He must be fond of classifying and cataloguing. Somaize's two *Dictionnaires* deal methodically with the language and the history of the *précieuses* in a perfectly modern alphabetical and systematic manner.

13. He must be a close friend of the Academician Ballesdens. The recommendation of the latter, appearing over his signature in the *privilège* to the *Dictionnaire* seems to have been influential in securing the necessary permission to print. The *privilège* expressly states, "A ces causes, *après avoir veu l'approbation du sieur Ballesdens,* nous avons permis . . . à l'exposant de le faire imprimer, vendre et débiter." [10]

14. He must have rendered himself obnoxious to the Académie. Somaize's "friend" declares that our author caused the Académie to assemble two or three times because of some of his doings.[11] This detail may mean nothing, to be sure. As a statement of fact, it may be much exaggerated. But that this particular title to glory should be selected from among so many possible titles is of a certain significance. As to Somaize's scepticism concerning the labors of the Académie, he has left a plain record of that in his *Procez des Prétieuses:*

> Ah! je vois bien que c'est (*i. e.*, the Dictionary of the Académie) l'ouvrage
> De Penelopes, et je gage
> Que dans ce livre l'omega
> Jamais place ne trouvera. [12]

It would obviously be easy to name a few authors whom several of these requirements would fit. It would not be difficult to name one or two authors whom a majority of these requirements would fit. Furetière, for example, knows *précieux* society, dislikes its affectations in speech, indulges in pamphleteering, can be coarse at times, satirizes Boisrobert,[13] quarrels with the Académie, and has had a long experience in classifying and cataloguing in connection with his dictionary. On the other hand, he was a friend of Molière's,[14] he expresses admiration for Balzac in his epigram *Sur la Mort de Monsieur de Balzac,* he is against the efforts of the *précieuses* in the direction of simplified spelling,[15] his squabbles with the Académie came in the seventies and eighties, thereby making it impossible, if he were Somaize, for him to have boasted, by 1661, of causing the Immortals to assemble on his account, and he is not obsessed by *préciosité.*

Any man whom the 14 articles mentioned above will fit may, it is fair to assume, be considered a suitable candidate for the honor of having originated Somaize. Nevertheless, they would not in a court of law prove his right conclusively. Something more is needed. It is essential that, if possible, the unknown Monsieur X be convicted of unusual conversance with the ideas and language of Somaize, whom everybody else ignores and seems totally unacquainted with.[16] If, in addition to all this, it can be demonstrated that a work planned by Monsieur X and practically acknowledged by him, and for which he alone was in a position to have the material, has appeared as Somaize's chief production, and is later mentioned kindly by Monsieur X, then the possibility of their being one and the same person becomes extremely strong, and the probability of their having been two different persons becomes so slight as to be nearly negligible.

The man whom all these conditions fit is Charles Sorel, sieur de Souvigny, historiographer of the King, the friend of the good Guy Patin, the author of *Francion* and the

[10] Somaize, *Dict. des Préc.*, ed. Livet, II, p. 17.

[11] *Ibid.*, préf., p. 15.

[12] *Procez des Prét.*, ed. Livet, p. 109.

[13] Furetière, *Rom. Bourg.*, ed. Fournier, p. 140.

[14] Isabelle Bronk, *Poésies Diverses of Antoine Furetière*, Baltimore, 1908, p. xv.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. xxxii, note 1.

[16] I take this opportunity of confirming what was said in the *Case of Somaize*, p. 34, concerning Mr. Magne's confusion of Somaize with Saumaise, the learned critic. M. Magne declares that Boisrobert submitted Gineste's *épîtres* to our Somaize, while the latter was in Bourgogne. Now, it appears that Saumaise, the critic, had interests in Bourgogne previously to 1645, and it is altogether probable that he was there again in 1647. Cf. *Lettres choisies de feu Mr. Guy Patin*, Cologne, MDCXCI, Vol. I, p. 6, date of Feb. 16, 1645.

Berger Extravagant, a pioneer in realistic fiction, the purveyor of substance to Molière, the foe of *préciosité,* a modern if ever there was one, a writer of advanced ideas and of a retrograde style, an important literary critic whom almost everybody has neglected, a solid *bourgeois* who riddled the aristocratic pretensions of his century and was most touchy about his own nobility,[17] a curious, inquisitive, sensible sort of person who has done more to preserve the actuality of the seventeenth century for us than Molière, Corneille, Racine, and La Fontaine put together.

A systematic discussion of the points outlined by me will constitute the simplest method of proof in identifying Sorel with Somaize. The preliminary remark may be made that the mention of Somaize's name has often caused Sorel's name to be brought into play, and *vice-versa.* Thus, Mr. Roy, the biographer of Sorel, and Colombey,[18] the editor of *Francion,* frequently cite Somaize to justify Sorel. If the two men are accepted as but one, this factitious corroboration will be unnecessary in the future. Perhaps, also, it may not be out of place to hazard a guess as to the adoption of the name Somaize by the original author. In 1657, Boisrobert published his *Théodore.* Somaize immediately wrote an attack on it. This was his first appearance in public. Now, Claude de Saumaise had died in 1653. It would have been entirely in accord with Sorel's practice to use a pseudonym resembling that of the great critic in order to obtain an artificial prestige for his own satire and criticism. That some persons in the seventeenth century would have mistaken Somaize or Sommaize for Saumaise is as possible as that Mr. Magne should have incurred that error in the twentieth century.[19] Sorel was particularly inclined to the presentation of his own works under the names of other well-known persons. *Francion* fared forth under the name of Nicolas de Moulinet, sieur du Parc, a living author of the day. It is not unlikely that the pen-name N. de l'Isle[20] was employed by Sorel for the purpose of creating confusion with the same title belonging to Thomas Corneille.

In Part II, which will appear in a later issue, all the preceding tests will be applied to Charles Sorel.

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[17] Cf. Furetière, *Rom. Bourg.,* pp. 217 ff.

[18] Cf. Colombey, ed. of *Francion,* p. 176, n. 2.

[19] Cf. *Case of Somaize,* p. 34.

POE AND SPIELHAGEN; NOVELLE AND SHORT-STORY

In an article in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXV, 67–72, on "Edgar Allan Poe and Fr. Spielhagen. Their Theory of the Short-story," Prof. Palmer Cobb has sought to show:

(1) that Spielhagen was first to proclaim the fact that Poe's theories of lyric verse and short-story are substantially identical;

(2) that Spielhagen's admiration for Poe was such that his own theory of the *novelle* is in its essence simply a restatement of Poe's theory of the short-story; and

(3) that Spielhagen thus became "the first exponent in Germany of the Poe doctrine of the tale, and likewise the medium of transmission of this doctrine to German soil."

As a result of his investigation, Prof. Cobb even finds it entirely possible that "Spielhagen was not content with the acceptance and exploitation in Germany of Poe's theory of the short-story, but that he also made practical application of it in the construction of his own novels." Unfortunately a closer examination of the material used for this article taken together with deductions from other sources, with which the author does not seem to have been acquainted, must lead one inevitably to conclusions diametrically opposed to his. Let us follow his argument point by point.

It is true that "Spielhagen's interest in Poe dates from an early period." In the autobiography[1] Poe is mentioned among several

[20] Cf. Koerting, *Gesch. des fr. Romans,* etc., II, p. 46, n. 2.

[1] *Finder und Erfinder.* 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1890. II, 288 f.

American poets read and studied by Spielhagen as a young man. As early as 1868 appeared Spielhagen's essay on Bryant and Poe;[2] followed in 1883 by a very brief discussion of Poe's analysis of the *Raven*,[3] and finally in 1891 by the extended essay on the Poe-Longfellow controversy entitled *Edgar Poe gegen Henry Longfellow*.[4] It is upon this essay that Prof. Cobb bases his entire argument including the assertion of Spielhagen's primacy in the discovery of Poe as a theorist in the realm of the short-story. Accepting for the moment the statement that this essay actually does deal with Poe's theory of the short-story, it would still appear that Prof. Brander Matthews in his *Philosophy of the Short-story*[5] had anticipated Spielhagen by nearly a decade. This matter of priority is, however, of minor importance. The real question before us here is: did Spielhagen in his essay *Edgar Poe gegen Henry Longfellow* concern himself at all with Poe's prose writings, or was Poe's verse his only consideration? The passage quoted by Prof. Cobb (p. 69) is as follows:

"Ich sage: Theorie der lyrischen Dichtkunst, denn unzweifelhaft hat der Lyriker Poe, wenn er auch von aller Poesie zu sprechen scheint, auch vielfach wirklich spricht, oder doch sprechen will, bei Aufstellung seiner Sätze immerdar seine spezielle Kunst vor Augen gehabt; ebenso wie er das Material zu diesen Sätzen und die Beweisführung derselben unmittelbar aus seinen individuellen dichterischen Erfahrungen schöpfte."[6] Prof. Cobb comments: "When Spielhagen speaks of Poe's 'spezielle Kunst' he means thereby lyric poetry. He is therefore saying in the above that Poe's *Poetic Principle* is, strictly speaking, a principle of lyric poetry. And further that the author of the *Raven* being essentially a lyrist, deduced for himself a theory of lyric poetry, by which he proceeded to measure all other poetic *genres*. And finally that Poe applies his standard for lyric poetry alike to the epic, the drama, and the short-story."

That Prof. Cobb interprets this passage in the light of his own perception of the fact that Poe's theories of the lyric and the short-story do indeed bear a striking resemblance to each other, is obvious. Admittedly the words "seine spezielle Kunst" (and here is where the whole matter hinges) refer only to lyric poetry, to Poe's own verse, and not by the widest stretch of the imagination to the short-story as well, and this becomes perfectly clear in a sentence, which occurs a few pages beyond the passage just quoted: "Aber lassen wir endlich die epische, die dramatische Poesie, auf die zugestandenermassen Poes Theorie gar nicht gemünzt ist; kommen wir zur lyrischen Dichtkunst, die ihm allein im Sinn und am Herzen liegt, und fragen wir: tritt denn wenigstens für diese seine Forderung in Kraft und Geltung?"[7] It is evident that Spielhagen is here occupied solely with Poe's theory of lyric poetry as elaborated in the *Poetic Principle*. Otherwise he would have been compelled to draw upon Poe's essay on Hawthorne, where the famous juxtaposition of the two theories occurs. But this essay on Hawthorne is neither here nor elsewhere so much as mentioned, nor does it ever seem to have struck the German critic to measure *William Wilson* by the same standard as that furnished by the poet himself for the *Raven*. Throughout the entire essay Spielhagen's unsympathetic attitude toward Poe's demand for extreme brevity in poetic composition is everywhere in evidence and is epitomised in the expression, "dies Engherzige seines (Poe's) *Poetischen Prinzips*."[8]

For Poe as a lyrist Spielhagen's admiration, though far from uncritical, is everywhere evident, here as well as in the earlier essay "Amerikanische Lyriker," where he speaks of Poe

[2] *Vermischte Schriften*. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1868. "Amerikanische Lyriker; W. C. Bryant, Edgar Allan Poe." I, 259–320.

[3] *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 9.

[4] *Aus meiner Studienmappe. Beiträge zur literarischen Aesthetik und Kritik*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 99–181.

[5] New York, 1901. First in the *London Saturday Review*, 1884; elaborated in *Lippincott's Magazine* for Oct., 1885; included in the volume of essays *Pen and Ink*, New York 1888; finally as a monograph.

[6] *Studienmappe*, 148. Prof. Cobb omits the first eight words but supplies "lyric poetry" after the words "seine spezielle Kunst."

[7] *Studienmappe*, 150 f.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, p. 168.

"der, neben Alfred Tennyson, vielleicht das grösste Formtalent ist, das die moderne englisch-amerikanische Literatur aufzuweisen hat, und der auch in anderer Beziehung höchst beachtenswert, ja, wenn wir nicht irren, in seinen Fehlern sowohl, als in seinen Tugenden, in seiner Bizarrerie und seiner sich überstürzenden Leidenschaftlichkeit, in seinem krankhaften Streben nach Originalität, das sofort in offenbare Manieriertheit ausartet, nicht weniger, als in der grossen Kühnheit seiner Konzeptionen und seiner oft an's Wunderbare grenzenden virtuosen Technik einzig unter den Dichtern seiner Heimat dasteht." [9] And further: "bei Bryant hat man fast beständig das Gefühl: das könntest du auch machen, wenn du dir rechte Mühe gäbest; bei Poe die Ueberzeugung; dass man beim besten Willen nicht eine Zeile in seinen Gedichten würde haben schreiben können." [10]

In marked contrast with his praise of Poe's originality in his verse is Spielhagen's opinion of his work in the field of criticism and in the short-story, expressed in this same essay:

"Dem Plane dieses Aufsatzes gemäss können wir wie hier Poes novellistische Arbeiten, in denen die sauberste Detaillierung und die gefeilteste Sprache mit einer krankhaften Lust am Phantastisch-Grässlichen einen sonderbaren Bund eingehen, und ebenso seine kritischen und ästhetischen Aufsätze, die neben manchem sehr Beachtenswerten auch viel Unreifes, Schiefes und absolut Falsches enthalten, nur eben erwähnen. Auch sind es diese Produkte nicht, die ihn berühmt gemacht haben und seinen Namen der Vergessenheit vorenthalten. Poes Ruhm sind seine Gedichte. . . ." [11]

This essay appeared in 1868, twenty years and more before "Edgar Poe gegen Henry Longfellow," but in the same volume with the latter we find an appreciation of Mark Twain's *Tramp Abroad*,[12] from which we learn incidentally that Spielhagen had by no means changed his attitude toward Poe as a writer of short-stories. He says:

"Mark Twain gehört zu jenen Skizzisten, die der Stolz der amerikanischen Literatur sind. Und das Letztere mit Fug und Recht. Denn sie—die Twains, die Holmes, die Bret Hartes—sind es, welche in ihrer Sonderart der Physiognomie dieser Litteratur den einzigen wahrhaft originellen Zug verleihen."

"Sonst könnte man einen derartigen originellen Zug etwa nur noch in der amerikanischen Lyrik entdecken. Aber auch hier—sobald wir Edgar Allan Poe ausnehmen, der allerdings ein lyrischer Charakterkopf von ganz einzigem Gepräge ist—treffen wir selbst bei den besten . . . überall auf Spuren, welche sehr sichtbar und oft ganz direkt zu den grossen Lyrikern der alten, erbgesessenen Literaturen der Engländer, Deutschen, Franzosen . . . zurückleiten. . . . noch heute ist der amerikanische Roman- und Novellenleser, falls er nicht vorzieht, gleich bei den Quellen zu schöpfen, auf mehr oder weniger gelungene Nachahmungen angewiesen, die höchstens durch das besondere Lokal, durch gewisse spezifische Verhältnisse, Sitten und Gebräuche einen Schein von Selbständigkeit und Originalität erlangen. Schriftsteller ersten Ranges, die man mit den grossen Romanciers bei uns, den Engländern oder Franzosen auch mit allen möglichen Reservationen an die Seite stellen könnte, fehlen vorläufig jenseits des Ozeans so gut wie alte Schlösser und Basalte. Und ich kann mit dem besten Willen keine Ausnahme statuieren. Hawthorne, der noch am ehesten dazu qualifiziert erscheint, ist meiner Ansicht nach weit überschätzt. Seine schriftstellerische Manier—denn von Stil kann keine Rede sein—ist so verschnörkelt wie sein *Haus mit den sieben Giebeln* und der *Scarlet Letter* des Imitators brennt durch die reichlich aufgetragene Tünche prätendierter Originalität überall durch; Edgar A. Poe, der sich als Lyriker auf dämonischem Flügelpferd in die höchsten Lüfte schwingt, trollt als Novellist, ein geduldiger Schildknappe, hinter unsern romantischen Rittern einher und mit Vorliebe hinter denen von der traurigsten Gestalt." [13]

In the face of such distinctly disparaging criticism as this we can hardly expect to find in Spielhagen the apostle of Poe's theory of the tale on German soil. The argument for this apostlehood rests in the first instance upon the contention that Spielhagen really did discover and discuss Poe's theory of the tale, but as we have demonstrated, as a matter of fact he concerns himself entirely with Poe's theory of verse, speaks most disparagingly of Poe's short-stories, and nowhere touches at all upon the theory of their construction. In the second

[9] *Verm. Schr.*, I, 296.
[10] *Loc. cit.*, p. 310.
[11] *Loc. cit.*, p. 311.
[12] *Studienmappe*, 183–198: "Ein lustiges Buch."
[13] *Loc. cit.*, p. 183 ff.

instance the argument is based upon a similarity amounting to identity between Spielhagen's theoretical pronouncements on the *novelle* and Poe's on the short-story. Quoting from the essay on Hawthorne [14] Prof. Cobb shows that Poe's basic requirements for the poem and the tale were practically identical: in both cases "totality of effect" and all brevity consistent with the attainment of this effect. He quotes also Prof. C. Alphonso Smith's extremely apt characterization of Poe's work: "The central question with Poe was not 'How may I write a beautiful poem or tell an interesting story' but 'How may I produce the maximum of effect with the minimum of means?'" [15] Over against this summary of Poe's theory are set three paragraphs from Spielhagen which are worthy of being quoted in full, since they contain not only Spielhagen's theory of the *novelle* but also the axis about which the theory of the *novelle* has revolved from the close of the 18th century to the present day.

"Der Roman hat es weniger auf eine möglichst interessante Handlung abgesehen, als auf eine möglichst vollkommene Uebersicht der Breite und Weite des Menschenlebens. Er braucht deshalb—und gerade zu seinen Hauptpersonen—nicht Menschen, die schon fertig sind, und, weil sie es sind, wo immer sie eingreifen, die Situation zu einem raschen Abschluss bringen, sondern solche Individuen, die noch in der Entwicklung stehen, infolgedessen eine bestimmende Wirkung nicht wohl ausüben können, vielmehr selbst durch die Verhältnisse, durch die Menschen ihrer Umgebung, in ihrer Bildung, Entwicklung bestimmt werden, und so dem Dichter Gelegenheit geben, ja ihn nötigen, den Leser auf grossen, weiten (allerdings möglichst blumenreichen) Umwegen zu seinem Ziele zu führen." [16]

"Nun aber mögen wir Goethes Definition in den Gesprächen mit Eckermann 'Was ist die Novelle anders als eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit!' einfach acceptieren, oder an die erweiterte Form und psychologische Vertiefung denken, welche diese Dichtungsart in der neueren Literatur gefunden hat, immer wird ihr Charakter bleiben, dass sie—zum Unterschiede vom Roman, in welchem eine Entwicklung der Charaktere, mindestens des Helden stattfindet—fertige Charaktere aufeinander treffen lässt, die sich in dem Kontakt nur zu entfalten, gewissermassen auseinanderzuwickeln haben. Weiter: dass, damit die Wirkung des Kontaktes sich nicht zersplittere, nur wenige Personen in Mitleidenschaft gezogen werden dürfen, und so das Resultat bald hervorspringen, d.h. die dargestellte Handlung kurzlebig sein wird." [17]

"Mit der Novelle steht es anders und besser. Zwar schwankt auch ihre Definition in der Aesthetik; aber man glaubt doch zu wissen, dass sie die Erzählung einer merkwürdigen Begebenheit sein soll. Das ist sie denn auch bei den alten Meistern, denen sich noch unser Kleist ruhmreich anreihte. Dann haben früher und später grosse Künstler wie Goethe, Tieck, Brentano, Storm, Keller, Heyse—und wer wäre da nicht zu nennen—das alte, etwas enge und trockene Schema erweitert und bereichert, bis das Gebilde schliesslich eine frappante Aehnlichkeit mit den letzten Akten oder mit dem letzten Akte eines Dramas hatte, von denen oder dem es sich fast nur durch das Wegbleiben der dialogischen Form unterschied." [18]

The ancestry of the German *novelle*, as the very name suggests, goes back directly to the Italian *novella*.[19] In both cases the center about which the structure of the story is raised is the novelty of the theme, or to use Goethe's expression, "die sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit." No theoretical discussion of the *novelle* from the brothers Schlegel to Helmut Mielke has failed to lay heavy stress upon this point, and so too has Spielhagen given it a prominent place, and not alone in the paragraphs quoted above. The new element introduced by him into the discussion of the *Novel-*

[14] *Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by J. A. Harrison, New York, 1902, II, 106 ff.

[15] Address delivered at the Poe centennial at the University of Virginia, Jan. 19, 1909.

[16] *Beiträge*, 245 f.

[17] *Neue Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik der Epik und Dramatik*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 74.

[18] *Loc. cit.*, p. 162 f.

[19] Significant is the different attitude in Germany and America toward the Italian *novella*. In Germany the hundred tales of the *Decamerone*, with the exception of a few, obviously mere anecdotes, pass unquestioned as *novellen*. But Prof. C. S. Baldwin (*Studies out of Hours*, N. Y., 1907, pp. 110–161: *Three Studies in the Short Story*) in a careful analysis of these stories finds only two that he can classify as short-stories.

lentheorie is the idea of fully developed and still developing character in the persons of the *novelle* and the novel respectively. Novelty of theme, then, and developed characters, with all that they imply in their effect upon the action of the story, are for him the two prime theoretical considerations. For Poe the one dominating idea was "the maximum of effect with the minimum of means." From Poe to the present day the watchword of the American short-story writer has been concentration, and here two considerations have probably had the greatest weight: Poe's example and precept, and the exigencies of the periodical magazine. German *Novellendichter* have never been influenced by either of these considerations. No German theorist in this department has ever advocated extreme concentration as a basic principle or lent to his theoretical pronouncement the weight of his example to this end. The *Almanach* and *Taschenbuch* in their day imposed no such restrictions regarding space as has the monthly magazine, and to this day a German author does not hesitate to divide his *novelle* between two or more numbers of a periodical if need be,[20] thus destroying at a single blow the "totality of effect," which for Poe was everything. *Novelle* and short-story have developed along very different lines, the one laying chief stress upon the nature of the content, the other upon the story's outward form. The typical productions of the masters of the German *novelle*—Kleist, Heyse, Storm, Keller, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer[21]—stubbornly refuse to be measured by a norm as narrow as Poe's. To approach them at all with this measure means classifying them as that anomaly the "long short-story" typified by Edward Everett Hale's *The Man Without a Country* and Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.* Until our American critics have sufficiently broadened our definition of the term short-story to include this "long short-story," or have given it a name and classification of its own, we shall be compelled to use the foreign term *novelle* for the German product. The two terms are decidedly not even approximately synonymous.

To return to Poe and Spielhagen: we must not let such phrases as "nur wenige Personen," "die dargestellte Handlung kurzlebig," "Aehnlichkeit mit dem letzten Akte eines Dramas," etc., lead us to suppose that Spielhagen here has in mind a concentration that would approach Poe's conception of brevity. This becomes evident in a matter of outward form, which is by no means lacking in significance. It is interesting to compare the *novellen* of Spielhagen with the tales of Poe for their dissimilarity in length. In the two volumes of *novellen* in the collected works[22] of Spielhagen we find that the average length is 151 pages; the longest (*Die schönen Amerikanerinnen,* 1867) covers 210 pages; the shortest (*Die Dorfcoquette,* 1867) 72 pages. In Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*[23] the stories average in length 13 pages; the longest covers 44 pages (*The Mystery of Marie Roget*), the two shortest (*The Oval Portrait* and *Shadow.—A Parable*) respectively 2 and 3 pages. Such great disparity in length surely points to anything but similarity in technique. Spielhagen, though he finds a merely quantitative test for distinguishing between *Roman* and *Novelle* utterly absurd, has yet made it perfectly clear that the former must from the nature of its content be of greater length than the latter.[24] In composing his *novellen* he is consciously using the briefer form because the nature of the subject demands it, but it is evident that

[20] So, e g., Paul Heyse, *Rita, Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte,* 23. Jhg., 1. u. 2. Heft.

[21] Prof. Brander Matthews (*Philosophy of the Short-story,* 64) has suggested for Germany Sacher-Masoch, Freytag and Lindau as "names which one recalls at once and without effort as masters in the art and mystery of the short-story." One might protest against the selection of just this trio on the ground that none of them belongs in the front rank in any case, one of them never published a *novelle,* and another has gained at least as much notoriety through Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis* as through his piquant novels and stories.

[22] *Fr. Spielhagens Sämmtl. Wke.,* Bd. III u. VIII. Leipzig, 1880. Eight *novellen,* 1853–1870.

[23] *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* 1 Vol. Chatto and Windus, London (1872), pp. 103–400.

[24] *Beiträge,* 247 f., 264, 279 ff.

his and Poe's conceptions of brevity are quite divergent. In his idea of limiting the number of persons and the duration of the action in the *novelle* Spielhagen has preccdent enough in Germany, both in practice and in theory,[25] without having to turn to Poe for guidance. He names only one of his predecessors in this branch of criticism, Goethe, and only with many reservations can it be asserted that Goethe's "eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit" and Poe's "totality of effect" or "unity of impression" tend to the same end, that is to say, toward a single theme which is to form the foundation of the structure. Had his theory owed anything to Poe, a man of Spielhagen's frankness would have been the first to acknowledge his debt, but in view of his extremely disparaging mention of Poe both as short-story writer and as critic, in view of the utter dissimilarity of the two authors both in choice of subject and in treatment, it seems hardly possible to regard Spielhagen as "the first exponent in Germany of the Poe doctrine of the tale, and likewise the medium of transmission of this doctrine to German soil."

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ORIGIN AND FORCE OF THE SPLIT INFINITIV

The late Fitzedward Hall publisht in 1882 in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. III, pp. 17–24, the first scientific history of the split infinitiv. This short but vigorous articl laid bare the glaring ignorance of the opponents of the construction and placed the whole question in an entirely different light. Since then much has been ritten on this subject by English, American, and German scholars. Up to the present the attention has been chiefly directed to the earliest appearance of this construction and its later gradually increasing spred. The factors that hav braut it into life hav been discust briefly by a number of scholars, but as yet no theory has become establisht. The riter desires herc to present an explanation which he bclievs accounts fully for its origin.

Those who hav heretoforc assayd an explanation seek, on the one hand, the cause in a desire for a more perfect expression of thaut or a smoother rythmic flow, or, on the other hand, see only formal grammatical factors involvd. The former ground is assumed by Professor Lounsbury in *Harper's Magazine* for April, 1904, p. 734. He takes for study the folloing sentence from Lord Macaulay's essay on Lord Holland: "In order *to fully* appreciate the character of Lord Holland, it is necessary to go back into the history of his family." Here in the revision of 1843 the adverb *fully* stands after the *to*, while in the original form of 1841 the adverb precedes *to* in accordance with Macaulay's usual practis of placing the adverb before *to:* "in order *fully to* appreciate," etc.

Professor Lounsbury remarks upon the motiv for this change of word-order: "He (Lord Macaulay) must hav believd that in thus departing from his usual practis he had secured the additional emfasis for which he was striving." It seems strange to the riter that Professor Lounsbury, who has usually such a keen feeling for historical development in English could make such a blunder. If Lord Macaulay had desired "additional emfasis" he would hav placed the adverb *after* the infinitiv. Since the fourteenth century ther has developt sharp differentiation of force here. In oldest English the infinitiv stood at the end of the sentence preceded by its modifiers. Later ther developt a tendency to place the *important* modifiers after the infinitiv. Gradually all the important modifiers wer removed to the position after the infinitiv exccpt adverbs that wer either weakly strest, or, as in the case of Lord Macaulay's exampl, only moderatly strest.

Lookt at historically, this new rule of placing the weakly strest or moderatly strest adverb before the infinitiv and the strongly strest adverb after it is the resultant of two forces. Accord-

[25] Compare, e. g., Paul Heyse, *Deutscher Novellenschatz*, Bd. I, Einleitung. München, o. J. (1871).

ing to older usage the adverb preceded the infinitiv, but according to later usage the more important elements crowded out the infinitiv and gaind the emfatic final position, leaving the more weakly accented adverbs in their old historic position before the infinitiv. On account of the markt advantages of this new word-order it is one of the most momentous changes that hav taken place in historic times, especially as it later influenst the word-order in the principal clause, as we shal see below. A few illustrations of this word-order for the infinitiv clause may be helpful: "I hope to *immediatly* effect a cure," or with more emfasis: to effect a cure *immediatly*. Among the weakly strest adverbs, ar sentence adverbs, *i. e.,* adverbs that modify not the verb but the whole sentence or clause: "He seems to *actually* imagin himself learned." Closely related to such words are adverbs of degree: "The gain at this point is sufficient *to more than* offset the losses elsewhere." "He doesn't intend *to half* try." "The hed seemd to *almost* part company with the body." In a number of such expressions the adverb cannot be placed after the infinitiv, while others under strong stres naturally take this position: "I intend to *entirely* giv up this habit," or with stronger emfasis: "to giv up this habit *entirely.*"

These rules for the position of the adverb in infinitiv clauses which wer alredy fairly wel fixt in the fourteenth century began later to spred to the simpl tenses, wher the same usage had developt independently, but was rather uncommon as the tendency to place the adverb after the verb usually prevaild. Thus Chaucer's "I *wonder gretly*" became "I *greatly wonder*" under the influence of "Do you *greatly wonder?*" "I do *greatly wonder,*" etc., and similarly "I *hav greatly wonderd,*" etc., wher the auxiliary in all cases merely denotes tense or modal function and the real verbal *meaning* lies in the infinitiv or participial form. As the weakly strest adverb in all cases stands *before* the verbal form that contains the verbal meaning it gradually became natural for it to seek the position before the simpl tenses. On the other hand, the *strongly* strest adverb now stands *after* the infinitiv, participl, or a simpl tense, so that we hav at last attaind to a uniform law for the position of adverbs in all kinds of clauses, namely that the *weakly or moderatly strest adverb precedes and the strongly strest adverb folloes the verbal form that contains the verbal meaning.* In the light of these exampls and this law it is perfectly clear that Lord Macaulay did not in his revision change the position of the adverb for the purpose of additional stres. He merely desired to bring *to* into closer relation to *in order,* for we today feel *in order to* as an inseparabl expression which is used to introduce an infinitiv clause of purpose.

It is thus quite evident that formal grammatical factors are involvd in the development of this construction. Professor Jespersen, in his *Growth and Structure of the English Language,* p. 209, 1st ed., has essayd the following explanation: "Another recent innovation is the use of *to* as what might be cald a proinfinitiv insted of the clumsy *to do so:* 'Will you play?' 'Yes, I intend to.' 'I am going to.' This is one among several indications that the linguistic instinct now takes *to* to belong to the preceding verb rather than to the infinitiv, a fact which explains the phenomenon usually mistermd 'the split infinitiv.'"

This theory is destroyd by the fact that it does not explain such cases as "To almost succeed is not enuf." Here *to* does not belong to any preceding word. Even in Old English the prepositional infinitiv could be used as the subject of a verb, so that *to* even in this early period had become firmly attacht to the infinitiv quite independent of any governing word. In the earliest exampls of the split infinitiv we of course find the *to* either dependent upon some preceding word or quite independent of such a word, for this feature does not enter into the case as a determining factor. We must look for some other explanation.

The development of the split infinitiv is evidently closely connected with the development of the word-order in infinitiv clauses. The oldest exampls known to the riter ar found in *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* (about 1320–30 A. D.): "He (Arthur) louied þe lasse (*the less*) auþer (either) *to lenge lye,* or *to*

longe sitte" (ll. 37–8). "Bot to take þe tonayle to my-self, *to* trwluf expoun," etc. (ib. l. 1540) *but to undertake the task to expound true-love.* In the very nature of things it will not be possibl to find exampls much older, for in the older period the infinitiv was inclined to stand at or near the end of the clause after its modifiers. In the fourteenth century when the infinitiv began to become establisht at the beginning of the clause before its modifiers the possibility of the split infinitiv began. In the first of the two exampls the *to* is separated from the infinitiv by an adverb, in the second exampl by the object. The second case is very rare, for the object at this time had almost become establisht in the position *after* the infinitiv. The requirements of the alliterativ verse probably explain this word-order here, but as this arrangement is absolutely unknown in older alliterativ poetry it is perfectly evident that only a new conception of the infinitiv clause has renderd this word-order here possibl. As the object soon became fixt in the position after the infinitiv the weakly or moderatly strest adverb alone could stand between the *to* and the infinitiv. The split infinitiv made a good beginning in *Sir Gawayne,* but in this same poem the older order of placing the weakly or moderatly strest adverb *before* the *to* is also employd, and this usage remains the more common of the two thruout the following centuries: "þe lorde . . . cumaundeȝ to delyuer hym a leude (page), hym *loȝly to* serue" (ll. 850–1).

In reading a large number of books of different centuries, it became quite clear to the riter that the adverb here in both positions, *i. e.,* before and after the infinitiv, is quite rare, as often only a few exampls could be found in a whole treatis. The comparativ infrequency of the adverb here helpt materially to facilitate the development of the split infinitiv. Wherever there was no adverb the *to* introduced the infinitiv clause. Thus the *to* gradually became establisht in the *first* place in the infinitiv clause, just as *that* became establisht in the first place in similar clauses. There is in the history of the language a close relation between that-clauses and infinitiv clauses. A markt difference between the language of the thirteenth century and that of the following periods is the gradual replacement of the that-clause by the infinitiv construction: "Siec ðat *tu haue* pais aȝeanes gode" ("*Vices and Virtues,*" p. 59, A. D. 1200), now "Seek *to hav* peace with God."

Today the infinitiv is a great favorit and we prefer it to a that-clause wherever it is possibl, *i. e.,* wher its subject is the same as that of the principal verb: "I firmly intend *to always* do the right thing," but "I firmly intend *that* they shal always do the right thing." The old historic order "*always to do* the right thing" often as here yields to the newer order "*to always do* the right thing" because there is a growing tendency to giv the infinitiv clause a fixt and definit form introduced by *to.* The *to* is not felt as a part of the infinitiv but as an introduction to the infinitiv clause. If the infinitiv is modified by an adverb the adverb is now often placed directly before the infinitiv itself as the *to* is not felt as belonging to the infinitiv so much as to the whole clause. In oldest English the *to* before the infinitiv was a preposition with the full force and meaning of a preposition as found elsewhere before nouns, but alredy in the course of Old English it had begun to lose its original meaning and became more and more the mere formal sign of the infinitiv. Thus in looking at the split infinitiv from a strict historical and linguistic point of view it is a clear and neat construction that has slowly developt out of a wide-spred desire to find a more accurat formal grammatical expression for our changed conception of the infinitiv clause.

A large number of scholars hav cald attention to the fact that the position of the adverb after *to* sometimes makes the thaut perfectly clear, while the adverb might be braut into relation with the preceding verb if it stands before *to:* "I endeavord *strongly* to influence him." Here "strongly" may in the ritten language modify either the verb "endeavord" or the infinitiv "influence." In the spoken language a pause after the verb would indicate the latter relation, a pause after the adverb the former relation. In the fourteenth century the ambiguity here was so markt in negativ sentences

that the split infinitiv was not infrequently employd to make the thaut clear: "Of whiche is Ymeneus and Alisaundre, whiche Y bitook to Sathanas, that thei lerne *to not* blasfeme" (1 Tim. 1.20, John Purvey, A. D. 1388) "that they may learn *not to* blaspheme" (King James version).

The authors of King James version did not employ the split infinitiv here as the conditions of the language had undergone a decided change at this point. In the fourteenth century the negativ stood after the simpl form of the verb just before the infinitiv clause so that the thaut became perfectly ambiguous if the negativ belonged to the infinitiv and was placed before the *to*. To avoid this difficulty the fourteenth century riters not infrequently made use of the split infinitiv. Later the subjunctiv of the simpl verb and the negative form of both moods were replaced by perifrastic forms, as "may not learn," "did not learn," so that ther was no longer any necessity for using the split infinitiv, and this new form disappeard. Now we must not conclude that the ambiguity in this negativ construction cald into being the new form. The mind simply recognized here the advantage of the new form which had alredy been created. The oldest known exampls, from *Sir Gawayne* given above, show conclusivly that the split infinitiv originally had nothing to do with the question of ambiguity. Similarly the mind now recognizes the advantage of this new form to avoid the clashing of two words with the same ending: "A country priest would be *likely* to *closely* resembl Chaucer's ideal parson" rather than "*likely closely* to resembl," etc. There is, however, a great difference in these two cases. In this last exampl we would still prefer the split infinitiv even if another word were substituted for *closely:* "A country priest would be likely *to much* resembl," etc., for this construction is now a favorit. On the other hand, as soon as the new tense and mood forms removed the ambiguity in the negativ construction as found in the fourteenth century the older form of placing *not* before *to* at once asserted itself again with its former power and has in general remaind firm ever since: "I promis you *not to* go out." Of all adverbs "not" is the most tenacious of this old historic position and has not as yet joined the general movement toward the position after the *to*. The reason seems to be that it has formed a fixt compound with *to* and cannot be separated. Thus we say, "He did it, as he promist *to*," but in negativ form: "He did it, but he promist *not to*."

This set form has also influenst the negativ form of *in order to*. Formerly the adverb could be inserted between *order* and *to*, but as indicated by Lord Macaulay's revision described above it is now more natural to regard the form *in order to* as inseparabl and we thus place the adverb after the compound form. The older order of things, however, still prevails in the negativ form of statement: "I refraind from this course in order *not to* hurt his feelings." The firmly fixt type *not to*, found so often elsewhere has here interrupted the natural development.

Aside from this negativ type the new form with the adverb after *to* is now gaining ground. As this new form givs more accurat formal expression to our modern feeling and has been stedily gaining ground, it will probably in due time become establisht to the exclusion of the other form. New grammatical conceptions usually in the course of time find a new grammatical form and the old form passes away. Ther ar many illustrations of this creation of form for an idea. Originally the infinitiv and the gerund wer mere verbal nouns. In the course of the historic period they hav in English developt grammatical forms for tense and voice to an extent unknown in the closely related German. In "There is much *to be done*" English in fashioning a passiv form to suit the idea is richer than German in "Es ist viel *zu tun*." How poor older English seems to us when we read: "A shootynge Gloue is chieflye for to saue a mannes fyngers from *huntinge*" (Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*, A. D. 1545), now "being hurt." The few defenders of lost causes who still claim that "the house is *building*" is more forcibl than "the house is *being built*" are not brave enuf to be consistent and say with Bolingbroke "the crime which was *committing*" insted of our expressiv recent for-

mation *being committed.* Those who love life glory in the constructiv forces that hav long been at work in English, but littl grammarians who hav no conception of creativ linguistic instinct and see in all change a corruption hav always raisd their voices against these beneficent forces and ar stil crying out against the split infinitiv and similar creations, but the deep-seated linguistic processes go quietly on establishing themselves in those countless minds that operate not by artificial regulations but in accordance with simpl natural laws.

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PROSE FICTION IN ENGLAND BEFORE RICHARDSON

A List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740, by ARUNDELL ESDAILE. London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1912. xxxv + 329 pp.

Students of sixteenth and seventeenth century English literature are in debt to the Bibliographical Society for not a few valuable tools of research. One has only to recall Mr. Greg's lists of plays and masques,[1] the Society's finding-lists of early printed books,[2] and Mr. Duff's, Mr. McKerrow's and Mr. Plomer's dictionaries of printers and booksellers,[3] to realize some of the services which this very active group of scholars has performed, not merely for bibliography in the narrower sense, but for literary history as well. And now Mr. Esdaile has given us what will doubtless prove one of the most useful, because one of the most needed, of all the Society's publications—a catalogue of the works of prose fiction printed in England before 1740.

His conception of his task was a commendably ambitious one. He proposed to include in his list not only all early English tales and romances, but also all known and discoverable editions of each one of them. Such an ideal necessarily involved him in prolonged research among the treasures of the great English public libraries—the Museum, the Bodleian, the University Library, Cambridge—as well as of many catalogued and accessible private libraries, such as the Bridgwater and the Huth collections. But he also had recourse for information regarding books no longer extant, not only to such obvious sources as the *Stationers' Registers* and the *Term Catalogues,* but also to a group of documents much less frequently utilized than they—the advertisements of seventeenth century publishers.[4] It is to be regretted

[1] *A List of English Plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700.* London, 1900; *A List of Masques, Pageants, &c.* London, 1902.

[2] *Hand-lists of English Printers, 1501-1556.* London, 1895-1905.

[3] *A Century of the English Book-trade . . . 1457 to . . . 1557.* By E. Gordon Duff. London, 1905; *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland . . ., 1557-1640.* General editor: R. B. McKerrow. London, 1910; *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667.* By Henry R. Plomer. London, 1907.

[4] He has not, however, extracted from them all the substance which they contain. The following list of "addenda" is based in large part, though not exclusively, upon publishers' advertisements not used, or incompletely used, by Mr. Esdaile: p. 17, *The Famous History of the Learned Fryer Bacon,* advertised by J. Deacon in *The Gallant History of Bevis of Southampton* (B.M., 837. e. 4); p. 39, *The History of the Gentle-Craft,* advertised by W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton,* 1689 (B.M., 1077. g. 35/3); p. 40, *The Shooe-makers Glory,* advertised by Sarah Bates in *Guy of Warwick* (B.M., 12403. d. 1); p. 42, *Jack of Newbery,* advertised by W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton,* 1689; p. 46, *The History of Dr. Faustus,* advertised by J. Deacon in *The Gallant History of Bevis of Southampton;* p. 49, *Montillion,* a copy in the stock of John Foster, a York bookseller, 1616 (Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press,* p. 363); p. 51, *Ornatus and Artesia,* advertised by J. Deacon and W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton,* 1689; p. 61, *Gesta Romanorum,* advertised by G. Conyers in *Dorastus and Fawnia,* 1688 (B.M., 12403. aa. 22); p. 83, *The History of the Seven Champions,* advertised by J. Deacon in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton,* 1689; *ibid., Seven Champions,* advertised by Woodgate and Brooks in *The Unfortunate Lovers* (B.M., 12410. aa.

that he did not append to his bibliography proper, for the benefit of later searchers in the same or an adjoining field, a list of these and other sources used.

The results of his researches occupy a book of 329 large pages, and amount to upwards of twenty-five hundred entries. The form adopted for the entries is that used by Mr. Greg in his *List of English Plays:* an abbreviated title and imprint, with a reference to the whereabouts of a copy, or, if no extant copy is known, to some source of information attesting the book's present or past existence. The list as a whole is divided into two parts, the first containing all works which appeared up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, the second containing all those which were first printed between 1643 and 1740; within these parts the arrangement of titles is alphabetical. "This plan has been adopted," Mr. Esdaile explains, "primarily in order that Part I may fall into line with the Lists of English Plays and Translations from the Classics already issued by the Society; and secondarily in the hope that the division of the mass of material may sensibly diminish the incongruous juxtapositions inevitable in any author-catalogue, and may thus bring into light the historical perspective, which is still to a great extent, and would otherwise have been entirely, obscured by the alphabetical arrangement under the authors' names" (p. ix). Use of the bibliography in general, and in particular the study of undated editions, would have been greatly facilitated by the inclusion of an index of printers and publishers.

To his catalogue of editions, Mr. Esdaile has prefixed an introduction of twenty-three pages, in which he has undertaken to set forth some of the historical conclusions suggested by his material. This is the least interesting or valuable part of his work: it contains few points that may be regarded as new, and its extreme compression makes of it little more than a catalogue, arranged chronologically, of the principal narratives listed in the body of the book.[5]

It was not for the introduction, however,

14); p. 85, *Tom a Lincoln,* advertised by W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton,* 1689; p. 101, *Long Meg of Westminster,* advertised by G. Conyers in *Dorastus and Fawnia,* 1688; p. 117, *The History of Reynard the Fox. In Three Parts,* advertised by G. Conyers in *The Famous History of Guy Earl of Warwick* (B.M., G. 18792/1); *ibid., Reynard the Fox,* advertised by Woodgate and Brooks in *The Unfortunate Lovers;* p. 124, *The Seven Wise Masters. E. Crowh for J. Wright.* 1673 (see *Harvard Catalogue of Chapbooks,* No. 556); p. 125, *Wisdoms Cabinet opened; or, the Seaven Wise Masters of Rome,* advertised by J. Deacon in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton,* 1689; *ibid., The History of the Seven Wise Masters,* advertised by Woodgate and Brooks in *The Unfortunate Lovers;* p. 135, *Valentine and Orson, ibid.;* p. 199, *Cynthia, a Novel, ibid.;* p. 207, *Robinson Crusoe, ibid.;* p. 216, *Earl of Essex and Q. Eliz., ibid.;* p. 223, *The French Rogue, ibid.;* p. 242, *The English Rogue, ibid.;* p. 247, *Robin Hood, ibid.;* p. 265, *The Scotch Rogue, ibid.*

[5] Nor is it entirely free from misstatements and errors of detail, most of which, however, are easily corrected by reference to the bibliography. Those that follow are perhaps the most important: p. xiii, "two editions of a chapbook abridgement by . . . Shurley, entitled *Britain's Glory''* should read "three editions" (cf. pp. 97-8); *ibid.,* there is no evidence that Wynkyn de Worde printed an edition of *Blanchardine and Eglantine;* Mr. Esdaile himself (p. 23) gives none; p. xiv (this error is repeated in the bibliography, p. 102), the date of the first appearance of More's *Utopia* in Latin was 1516, not 1518; p. xv, *Howleglas* was reprinted three times, not twice, by Copland (see p. 79, and, on the order and date of these editions, Friedrich Brie, *Eulenspiegel in England,* 1903, pp. 6-9); p. xvi, Copland did not "add" the *Historia de duobus amantibus* of Aeneas Silvius "to the national stock;" it had been printed at least twice before him, by Doesborgh and by Kynge (see p. 1); p. xvii, the *Heptameron* was printed in 1597, not 1592; p. xviii, six lines from the bottom, neither *Rosalynde* nor *Pandosto* was reprinted in 1616 or 1617; p. xix, the total number of the editions of *Pandosto,* not merely the number of "its later editions," was twenty-four; p. xxi, bottom of page, Cespedes y Meneses' *Gerardo* and Aleman's *Guzman* both appeared in 1622 (cf. pp. 8 and 35); p. xxix, the source of Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique des Etats et Empires de la Lune* was Godwin's *Man in the Moon,* not Wilkin's *Discovery of a World in the Moon* (cf. *Anglia,* X, 1888, pp. 418, note 3; 454-6); p. xxx, Defoe's authorship of *The Compleat Mendicant* is no longer accepted by such competent scholars as Aitken and Trent (cf. the latter's bibliography in *The Cambridge History of English Literature,* IX, 1913, p. 467).

that the work was published, but for the bibliography. And of the value of the bibliography one cannot speak with too much emphasis. For the whole period of the sixteenth century it stands by itself as the only tool of the kind in existence. For the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the only work with which it can be fairly compared is Miss Charlotte Morgan's "Chronological List of the Prose Fiction first printed in England between 1600 and 1740," published in her recent book, *The Rise of the Novel of Manners.*[6] And the advantage of such a comparison is entirely with Mr. Esdaile. Thus for the period from 1643 to 1740 Miss Morgan gives 541 titles; Mr. Esdaile, no fewer than 1300.[7] Nor does the inclusion by the latter of reprints as well as novelties wholly account for the difference; of separate books Mr. Esdaile records over a hundred more than his American predecessor. When we add that his work, besides being the more complete, is also the more trustworthy,[8] there can be little doubt as to which one serious students of early English fiction will prefer to use.

The services which Mr. Esdaile's bibliography may be expected to render to English scholarship are of two sorts. In the first place, its extraordinary completeness, by facilitating the otherwise painful search for editions, will make of it an indispensable tool for all students of particular novels or novelists. Especially useful from this point of view are the pages devoted to the medieval romances, the various Elizabethan novelists, and the little-known fiction of the later seventeenth century; for on all these subjects satisfactory bibliographies have hitherto been lacking. But its usefulness is by no means confined to individual writers and works. In the larger field of the general history of English fiction, it makes possible for the first time the systematic and thoroughgoing application of a new point of view. In the past, the history of literature has been studied almost exclusively from the side of production. Fruitful of sound results as this method has been, we have tended to forget, in our devotion to it, the existence of another and complementary point of view, that of consumption. What literature was *read* in any generation, not merely what was *written;* and of the literature actually read, how much was new and how much consisted of survivals from the past—these questions, if answered at all in our literary histories, are answered in but an incidental and incomplete way. In no work that I can recall do they dictate the fundamental plan and method of treatment. And yet on how many problems of the first importance—including, for instance, that of the diffusion of the Renaissance in England—might not such a method throw a flood of new light! True as this is of the history of literature in general,[9] it is even more true of the history of early English fiction in particular. For of the total body of fiction which circulated in England between the introduction of printing and the appearance of the great eighteenth century novelists, a comparatively small portion was the work of English writers; while not a little of the narrative literature read at any given time consisted of survivals from the more or less distant past. To deal adequately with facts like these—and they

[6] New York, 1911.

[7] This total does not include reprints of works first printed in the period 1475-1642, all of which are listed in Part I.

[8] Errors, indeed, are extremely rare. I have met with none more serious in character than the following. To say (p. 9) that *The treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* is a translation of extracts from *Amadis de Gaule,* gives perhaps a slightly inexact impression: strictly speaking, it is a rendering of *Le Tresor des Amadis,* a compilation of speeches and letters made from the French version of the romance about 1560. Of this the British Museum has three editions printed between 1560 and 1571, none of which, however, corresponds throughout in all respects to the English work. A more important error occurs on p. 130. The Bodleian fragment entitled *Surdyt King of Ireland,* entered here as a separate romance, is in reality a portion of the prose tale of *Ponthus.* See Friedrich Brie's correction (*Archiv,* CXXI, 1908, 129-30) of his own error (*ibid.,* CXVIII, 1907, 325-8). On p. 234, the 1706 edition of *The Noble and Renowned History of Guy Earl of Warwick,* included on the authority of Hazlitt, is probably the same as the preceding entry.

[9] See on this point a suggestive article by Gustave Lanson, "Programme d'Etudes sur l'histoire provinciale de la vie littéraire en France," in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,* 1902-03.

are extremely significant facts—it is obvious that one must assume the point of view, not of the few producers of literature, but of the great mass of consumers who formed the reading-public. That no scholar has ever done this, at least in any comprehensive way, is doubtless owing to the lack of just such a bibliography of editions as Mr. Esdaile has given us. At last, however, this want is happily supplied; and we may express the hope that some one, preferably Mr. Esdaile himself, will give us ere long a history of the *reading,* as well as of the *writing,* of fiction in early modern England. In the meantime, an indication of some of the questions which such a history might well deal with, and on which Mr. Esdaile's present work furnishes new information, may not be out of place.

One of these questions would assuredly concern the fortunes of the large body of native prose fiction produced during the last thirty years of the reign of Elizabeth. Thanks to the pioneer studies of Professor Raleigh and M. Jusserand, and to a host of later monographs and articles, the leading features of this literature are now generally familiar. Many problems, it is true, await solution, particularly on the side of sources and influences; but the main lines of the subject are clear. Within the total body of more than fifty different tales or novels that issued from the presses of London between the appearance of Gascoigne's *Ferdinando Jeronimi* (1572) and the death of the Queen, the leading varieties have been distinguished, and their characteristics studied; and a mass of information has been assembled with regard to their writers—not merely the more prominent, like Lyly, Greene, Lodge, Nash, and Sidney, but also the less known and less important, like Breton, Chettle, Dekker, Deloney, Dickenson, Forde, Gascoigne, Grange, Johnson, Melbancke, Middleton, Munday, and Roberts. But while our knowledge concerning the *production* of Elizabethan fiction is relatively complete, we know next to nothing concerning its *consumption.* By what classes of the public it was read; what part of it remained in circulation after the passing of the generation for which it was written; how long, and in what forms, these survivals continued to find readers—these questions remain as yet unanswered, or answered only with reference to single authors or works.[10]

The material for their answer, long difficult to collect and still more difficult to verify, is now accessible in the pages of Mr. Esdaile's bibliography. This review is not the place for a full exposition of the facts thus established; but a few remarks, by way of illustration of the uses to which the work lends itself, may perhaps be permitted. To begin with, we may note that the popularity of the chief Elizabethan novelists continued with but a slight abatement between the death of Elizabeth and the Civil War. *Euphues* was reprinted in 1605, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1613, 1617, 1623, 1630, 1631, and 1636; the *Arcadia,* in 1605, 1613, 1621, 1622, 1623 (twice), 1627, 1629, 1633, and 1638;[11] *Pandosto,* in 1607, 1609, 1614, 1619, 1629, 1632, and 1636; and *Rosalynde,* in 1604, 1609, 1612, 1623, 1634, and 1642. These—to judge merely from the number of editions—were the most sought-for; but others lagged not far behind. Of Greene's twenty pieces—"love pamphlets," "conny-catching" exposures, repentances—a round dozen remained in demand almost to the end of the period. The public also continued to buy the trade-novels of Deloney, Johnson, and Valens, and the romances of Forde and Roberts. In short, of the original fifty-odd tales which made up the native production of fiction in the last twenty-five years of the sixteenth century, no fewer than thirty still circulated during the first forty years of the seventeenth.[12] This prosperity, however, was not lasting. The troublous years of war and controversy which followed, from 1642 to

[10] As, for example, in M. Jusserand's charming account of the vogue of the *Arcadia* (*The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare,* 1899, 260-83).

[11] Not to speak of Beling's *Sixth Book* (1624) and Markham's *The English Arcadia* (1607, 1613), a continuation.

[12] In 1616 the stock of John Foster, a York stationer, contained the following Elizabethan stories: "One Seaven Champions whole," "One Second Part of English Arcadia," "Two Evordamus," "One Cobler of Canterbury," "One Montillion," "Two Dorastus and Favina." See Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press* (1868), 342-71.

1660, witnessed a marked decline in the vogue of the Elizabethan stories. The first of the old favorites to go was *Euphues;* after 1636, it was reprinted no more for near a century. All of Greene except *Pandosto* disappeared at about the same time; and in 1642 the public saw the last of the printed editions of *Rosalynde.* From the years of the war itself no reprints of Elizabethan fiction have survived, probably for the sufficient reason that very few were published.

When shortly before the Restoration the old tales again began to appear, the number of them was much smaller. Popular taste had weeded out all but about fourteen; and of these two disappeared before the early sixties.[13] The remaining dozen had a long life before them. Nearly every year during the second half of the seventeenth century saw an edition of some one of them, and not a few continued to find readers well into the eighteenth. The survivors included samples of nearly all the chief types of Elizabethan fiction: Sidney's *Arcadia,* in as many as five different versions; Greene's *Pandosto,* now known as *Dorastus and Fawnia;*[14] Forde's three imitations of the Spanish "romances of chivalry," *Parismus, Ornatus and Artesia,* and *Montelion;* Johnson's *Tom a Lincoln* and *The Seven Champions of Christendom;* and, among the most popular of all, Deloney's stories of tradesman heroes, *The Gentle-Craft, Jack of Newbury,* and *Thomas of Reading.*[15] The popularity of Deloney is significant, for it furnishes a hint as to the sort of readers who now cherished the old fiction. But we have still better evidence than this that the survival of interest in the Elizabethan stories was mainly an affair of the lower middle-classes, of the country people as well as of the tradesfolk whose life and traditions were mirrored in Deloney: the publishers from whose shops the greater part of the reprints issued were essentially popular publishers, not a few of whom, indeed, made a specialty of furnishing "Country Chapmen" with "all sorts of Books and Ballads."[16]

Such is the character of the information regarding the Elizabethan novelists which Mr. Esdaile has assembled for the use of later workers in his bibliography of "Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740." It would be an easy task to show that a similar wealth of material exists on nearly all the other questions in which a historian of the reading of fiction in England might become interested—on the survival of the medieval romances, the introduction of Renaissance fiction, or the penetration into Restoration England of the contemporary narrative literature of France. But doubtless this one case is sufficient to suggest the real value and importance of Mr. Esdaile's work. Both for the positive data which it makes easily accessible for the first time, and for the numerous special studies which it suggests, it is perhaps the most significant single contribution yet made to the early history of prose fiction in England.

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[13] On the other hand, a slight revival of interest in some of the forgotten favorites took place in the early eighteenth century; with the result that there appeared new versions of *George a Greene* (1706; repr. 1715) and of *Euphues* (1716, 1718).

[14] The entry in Foster's inventory (see note 12, above) suggests that it may have been commonly known under this title as early as 1616.

[15] Between 1643 and 1740 Mr. Esdaile records twenty editions of the first, six of the second, and five of the third. And the list is undoubtedly incomplete. See note 4, above.

[16] G. Conyers' announcement in *Dorastus and Fawnia,* 1688 (B.M., 12403. aa. 22). See also the advertisements of J. Deacon and of Woodgate and Brooks as cited in note 4. Another testimony to the popular character of the audience is the appearance, shortly after the middle of the century, of a number of abridgments: *The Seven Champions* in 1679; *Jack of Newbury* in 1684; *Thomas of Reading, Montelion, Ornatus and Artesia,* and *Tom a Lincoln* about the same time; *Parismus* in 1699; and the *Arcadia* in 1701.

Beginners' Book in Norse. By J. A. HOLVIK. Minneapolis, 1910. 284 pp.

The recent growth of the study of Norwegian in our secondary schools, especially in the Middle West, has emphasized the need of

a new grammar of the language. Olsen's *Grammar and Reader* has done good service in college, especially the Reader, because of its excellent Notes, as an introduction to Norwegian literature. But for the schools, and also for the elementary work in College, one built on a different plan was needed. Holvik's book is at present the one best suited for this purpose.

The plan of the book is, in general, good. The fundamentals of the language are presented in fifty-nine graded lessons with reading and composition exercises in each. In view of the excellent introductory aids available in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark for the study of the languages of these respective countries and the pedagogically excellent beginners' books now also available for the study of German and French in this country as well as abroad, it is, however, somewhat surprising to find in this beginners' book in 'Norse' the exercises consisting almost wholly of disconnected sentences in the first half of the course.

From Lesson XXXI the reading exercises are made up of the consecutive parts of Bjørnson's "En Glad Gut," and composition and conversation are based on the text. This is excellent, and it has the advantage of introducing the learner to Bjørnson through the medium of one of his best peasant stories, something that will give added value to the book where only a year, or at most two, can be given to the study of Norwegian. But in the first twenty-eight lessons the pupil is dealing with sentences that are for the most part unconnected in thought and therefore little calculated to arouse and keep up his interest in the work. Even where the exercises confine themselves to a given topic, as "Læse og skrive" in IV, or "Idag har vi en ny lekse" in VII, they are merely a repetition of sentences with varying article-, noun-, and verb-forms as a drill in what has perhaps already been illustrated in the grammatical material of the lesson.

In some of the later lessons this is remedied, as XVI, the parts of the house, XVII, books and Norwegian writers, or XXI–XXIV, on grammatical terms; and yet here the student is introduced all at once to entirely too large a range of words, and little time is left for inculcating the meaning and use of any of them. Thus in Lesson XXIII there is a vocabulary of 61 words, in Lesson XXII one of 43, and in Lesson XXIV one of 27. Herein lies the second weakness of the book, the too rapid introduction of a large body of words with often only a single instance of their use. The pupil cannot possibly acquire his vocabulary in this way, and so the reading tends to become a merely mechanical process of pronouncing and referring to the vocabulary for the new words.

The book aims "to give the English-speaking student a reading knowledge and to some extent a speaking knowledge of present-day Norse" (Preface). The emphasis has therefore been laid upon the forms and this is the best part of the work. Here the book is in every way serviceable; it teaches the literary language of the present in the normalized orthography, and where pronunciation is discussed, that given is the cultured speech of the present. There is sometimes a loose statement, as on p. 12, last sentence, which may leave the pupil in uncertainty as to just what is meant by the variation in the plural of some nouns between *-e, -r,* and *-er*. I should have avoided also the use of "dropped" in such a sentence as the one in 2, b, on p. 13. It leaves with the young beginner, and by such this book will be chiefly used, the idea of language being moulded and given its present form by the will of the speakers, and not that its present form is the result of slow change and growth.

The use of the word "Norse" also is most emphatically to be discouraged. The correct term "Norwegian" is perfectly clear and is well-established. "Norse" is neither clear nor sanctioned by use. It is vague, being sometimes used in the broad sense of "Scandinavian," at other times as a kind of poetic term for Norwegian. Then again in the expression "Old Norse" it comprises Icelandic and Norwegian, whereas when either is specifically meant one says Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian. The adjective is "Norwegian" whether it be used in reference to the country, the government, the nationality, or the literature. And if the reference be to the language,

the adjective is still "Norwegian," as also with English, German, French, Spanish, Russian, and by almost universal analogy.

The following special points call for remarks: Under § 3 the student is told that vowels may be long or short without change of quality, and then again in 2, that the two vowels *e* and *o* admit of a fixed change of quality, which is defined as open and closed; then finally in 3, 6, the statement is made that the "phonetic sign" of open *o* is *å* if long. There is here a vagueness with reference to sound and symbol that will leave the pupil quite at sea. As the author's discussion is, in the brief phonology, based on the letter, not on the sound, this should have been adhered to throughout, and the letter *å* should, like the other letters, have been given a place and a special discussion.

Under open *o,* bottom of page 10, the statement is made: "this vowel is often given as identical with *aa.* In careful speech there is a difference between open *o* and *aa,* as there is between *a* in all and *o* in or." As a matter of fact, *å* is a half-wide low vowel, which, when long, is usually written *å,* as *gå, vår,* but also *o* as *sove;* when short, usually *o* as *godt, top,* but also *å,* as *måtte, hånd.* Does the author intend to say that there is, in careful speech, a difference between *vor,* 'our,' and *vår,* 'spring,' as regards the quality of the sound, or between the vowels of *godt* and *fåt?*

The unaccented *e* the author defines as having the sound of *e* in 'her,' and on p. 12 we are told that *ø* has the sound of *e* in 'her.' Thus *ø* and unstressed *e* become identical, which they clearly are not. Unaccented *e* has the sound of *e* in 'her' in local dialectal usage, as in Valders, but not in Riksmaal. Here it is simply the neutral or 'third' *e* of German *Gabe,* or the corresponding *e,* for example, in Swedish. It is intermediate between *ø* and short *e* of *men,* and usually approaches rather more closely to the latter. *Ø* is a little more rounded, and the lips are more tense than in the *e* of 'her.'

It is not clear just what is meant by the statement on p. 12 that "*ei* is nearly equivalent to long *a* with the vanish (a-ee)." The italic type would seem to refer 'long *a*' to the Norwegian *a;* but since the reference is evidently to the English *a,* why not say 'English long *a?*',—since that *always* has the vanish. But even then the definition is not quite correct, if the standard American *a,* which $= \bar{e}^{i}$, is meant. In the Norwegian *ei,* both elements are equal in the time element, the first is an open *e,* the second is a low open *i.* Especially the quality of the former strikingly distinguishes the Norwegian diphthong from the English *a.* The statement in 2, on the same page, is similarly faulty.

It is somewhat disconcerting to the student to be told, page 15, that the vowel of an unaccented syllable is long when followed by only one consonant and short when followed by more than one, when he has just been introduced to the two words *gut* and *pen,* in neither of which the rule holds. If these words must be chosen here, they might be quoted in the plural, in which they, as all words like them, illustrate the rule. The reason should then have been given why these, and all words like them, are exceptions to the rule in the singular. That would have resolved the whole matter into a clear orthographic principle instead of leaving the pupil with a fear of numberless exceptions ahead.—Why, on page 13, the reference to masculine and feminine gender in English? And why, on page 14, say that the first *e* of the definite article *-ene* is dropped in the cases cited, when the post-positive article never was *-ene* here, but is historically *-ne* (Old Norse *-nir, -nar*)?

The plan of indicating the pronunciation of a new word as it appears is good, but on page 17 *han* should have been indicated (*hăn* or *hann*), just as *den* is $=$ *dĕn* (or *denn*). The rule referred to above would have covered all such cases. The statement relative to the pronouns *I* and *De* is hardly sufficient. *I* is no longer used in the spoken language and even in literature is comparatively rare.

There are in Norwegian a few small groups of adjectives and indefinite pronouns that are uninflected or inflected irregularly, but it is hardly advisable to say, in discussing the weak adjective, that the weak adjective ends in *e*

'when inflected regularly' and then immediately in a note to add "there are many irregularities in the inflection of the adjective." It emphasizes the exceptions too much; and they are after all relatively few and in all cases easily explained. Such cases as *egen, liden, megen,* together with *anden,* and *nogen,* should have been disposed of once for all in connection with the similarly irregular possessives *min, din,* and *sin;* they all lose their *n* in the neuter and all for the same reason. The other cases had best be listed, in so far as they belong to every-day speech, and the reasons for the exceptional inflectional form given.

But I do not wish to stress unduly the weak points in a book which also has many good qualities. The things called attention to need not cause serious trouble if the class is in the hands of the right teacher. The book is neatly gotten up and the open page is attractive.

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LA FONTAINE

G. Michaut, *La Fontaine.* Vol. I. Paris: Hachette, 1913. viii + 288 pp.

Louis Roche, *La Vie de Jean de La Fontaine.* 2e édition. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1913. 412 pp.

Émile Faguet, *La Fontaine.* Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1913. 356 pp.

Three new books on La Fontaine in one summer! Sainte-Beuve's word still holds true: "La Fontaine est un des sujets qui sont perpétuellement à l'ordre du jour en France." And let us state it right here: they are three good books, very good books, which will be heartily welcomed by the many friends of the fabulist.

Mr. Michaut proposes to study La Fontaine's life and works in their mutual relationship. The publication will be complete in several volumes, the first of which leads up to 1668, the date of the first collection of the *Fables.* The author does not claim to furnish much new biographical material: he has carefully examined all the traditional sources and wisely restricts himself to well-established facts. In this respect his chapter on *La Fontaine et sa Femme* is really refreshing. It is a spirited *reductio ad absurdum* of certain recent criticisms which, in the endeavor to whitewash La Fontaine's reputation as a husband, painted Marie Héricart's character in the darkest colors. Mr. Michaut shows that "Mlle. de La Fontaine" was indeed a *précieuse* who knew little about housekeeping, but that the principal fault rests with her husband.

In its literary tendencies the book represents a wholesome reaction against a certain stylistic superlativism in which many critics of La Fontaine, beginning with La Harpe and Villemain, have liked to indulge. Mr. Michaut's work is of a more sober kind, comparable in this respect to the judicious attitude of Walckenaer and MM. Mesnard and Regnier. The feature of the book is a welcome study of La Fontaine's much ignored minor works, for instance the careful analyses of the two comedies *L'Eunuque* and *Clymène,*[1] and especially of La Fontaine's letters to his wife (1663). These letters are not a "correspondance réelle," but an "oûvrage littéraire" and have to be considered as such; they were composed primarily for the amusement of Mlle. de La Fontaine's "Académie," probably in emulation of the famous *Voyage de Chapelle et Bachaumont* (1656).[2]

Of the four chapters devoted to the *Fables,* the concise study of La Fontaine's sources will be found particularly useful. The question of

[1] Mr. Michaut thinks that there are "at least" two definite reminiscences of *Clymène* in Molière. Verse 243: "Je ne veux point du tout, Madame, être baisé" is said to have suggested Orgon's "Je ne veux pas qu'on m'aime" (*Tart.* II, 2), while the well-known "le . . . ruban" of Agnes in *École des Femmes* II, 5, was supposedly modeled after a similar *sous-entendu* in *Clymène,* vv. 596, ff.

[2] Mr. Faguet, on the contrary, maintains that they are real letters, "ayant le caractère domestique et familial au plus haut degré" (p. 195). However, Mr. Michaut's argumentation appears more convincing.

the moral of the *Fables* is answered in the usual way: it is a "moralité utilitaire." Finally Mr. Michaut insists upon their artistic qualities and cautions us against futile attempts at applying the naturalist's methods to the creations of a poet.

Mr. Roche's book is the result of painstaking research. It would appear a difficult task to add many new data to a biography which has been so thoroughly scrutinized by Walckenaer and Mesnard, not to speak of the numerous publications of recent years which aim to elucidate smaller points in the fabulist's life. That Mr. Roche has nevertheless succeeded in improving upon his predecessors in several respects, is certainly no small merit. He pays great attention to exact chronology[3] and to large historical and literary backgrounds. Thus he gives a vivid picture of La Fontaine's jolly Parisian circle (1643–46)—"la troupe" or "la Table Ronde" as it called itself,—where we become acquainted with men like Maucroix, Furetière, the brothers Tallemant and others. Or he describes in detail the *salons* which La Fontaine frequented, drawing an especially sympathetic portrait of Madame de la Sablière.[4]

As to new facts concerning La Fontaine himself, Mr. Roche shows (p. 13) that the poet must have finished his secondary education in Paris (about 1636), for Furetière, who apparently did not leave Paris in his early years, testifies in 1652 to having known La Fontaine "depuis seize ans et plus, ayant étudié ensemble, et les dites études finies, fréquenté familièrement." The author has spent considerable time and energy in disentangling the matter of La Fontaine's financial difficulties—a task which had proved too intricate for previous biographers. The results obtained tend to exonerate La Fontaine to a certain degree from the reproach of having recklessly squandered his and his wife's fortune. A good chapter is devoted to La Fontaine's life at the Luxembourg (1664–1672). The financial side is of interest: the position of "gentilhomme servant de Madame" pays him fully two hundred *livres,* in addition to which he has the privilege of dining in the house of his protectress; however, he must lodge at his uncle's, where he had also lived during the years 1658–61, while he was pensioned by Fouquet.

Mr. Roche's most important contribution from the literary point of view is the discovery of the source of *Les Souris et le Chat-Huant* (*Fables,* XI, 9). The curious incident had been told to La Fontaine's good friend Bernier who embodied it in his *Abrégé de Gassendi* (Lyons, 1678, VII, 674). The influence of Bernier, who aroused the poet's interest in oriental themes, is valued very highly by Mr. Roche. But he goes, no doubt, too far when he exclaims: "Bernier! mais on voit à chaque page [des secondes Fables] son souvenir, son influence!" Likewise many of the parallels from Plutarch and Charron, as given in the appendix, seem somewhat arbitrary.[5]

In his endeavor to tell La Fontaine's story differently from his predecessors, Mr. Roche has sometimes perhaps ventured too far—at least for our personal taste. Certainly, we admire his ingenuity and his many fine remarks in the numerous character-sketches which he traces of La Fontaine: the child, the pupil of the *Oratoire,* the man of thirty-five, etc. But therein lies the danger of too much subjective interpretation. These sketches, largely based upon conjectural evidence, must needs be vague in expression; and "peut-être" and "probablement" occur too frequently. But even when facts are given, the subjective critic is inclined to consider them only in part. Thus Mr. Roche imagines (p. 327) that the *Epître à Huet* might represent a late answer to certain discussions which La Fontaine probably carried on

[3] He shows, for instance, that the famous "société des quatre amis"—La Fontaine, Racine, Molière, Boileau—can only have flourished from the beginning of 1664 to the end of 1665 (p. 186).

[4] Incidentally he quotes a hitherto unpublished letter of Mme. de la Sablière to her husband (1672), in which, four years after their separation, she humbly consents to the marriage of her eldest daughter (Cf. *Appendice*).

[5] For instance, p. 407, 4°: Charron's phrase: "La mort tient un très grand rang en la *république* de ce monde" has no connection with La Fontaine's "Il n'importe à la *république*" (VIII, 1). The term "république" in the Latin sense is to be found throughout the 17th century.

with his *précieux* colleagues of the Academy. The fabulist is said to oppose to their florid taste a more natural type of literature: Boileau, Molière and Racine, "dont ils ne veulent point"—

La France a la satire et le double théâtre.

This interpretation takes no account of the fact that, in the line immediately following, La Fontaine praises a book which must have been highly admired by the most *précieux* of these colleagues: the *Astrée:*

Des bergères d'Urfé chacun est idolâtre.

And La Fontaine praises it because he is not averse to *précieux* literature, for he has a good deal of the *précieux* about himself.

And this leads us to Mr. Faguet's book. It is not the first time that the distinguished critic has treated the subject. His charming *La Fontaine* in the collection of the *Classiques Populaires* is well known, and his course on La Fontaine, which he gave several years ago, appeared in the *Revue des Cours et Conférences* (V, 1897). The present volume is a stenographical report of eight lectures recently given at the "Société des Conférences," in which he sums up what he considers the gist of La Fontaine's life and works. And, again, we admire his clear style, his good-natured wit, his keen literary and philosophical perception. A book like this cannot be reviewed; it wants to be read and to be enjoyed. The La Fontaine analysed by Mr. Faguet is primarily the La Fontaine of the *Fables.* The latter he uses to illustrate the composite philosophy of the poet, the epicurean who accepts a Providence and believes in the immortality of the soul. Mr. Faguet has well observed the *précieux* vein in La Fontaine, although he nowhere points out the fact directly. But he implies it in his comparison of La Fontaine with the "delightful Benserade" (p. 75), or when he shows that in La Fontaine's love-poems the touch of a deeper passion is generally absent. And does not La Fontaine himself confess to be a *précieux?* When he characterizes Racine's and his own literary temperament in *Psyché:* "Ils penchaient tous deux vers le lyrisme avec cette différence qu'Acante (=Racine) avait quelque-chose de plus touchant, Polyphile (=La Fontaine) de plus fleuri," do we not recognize Racine's *sensibilité* and the fabulist's *préciosité* in the best sense of the word?

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SOME RECENT TEXT-BOOKS OF RHETORIC

The Essentials of English Composition. By James W. Linn. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xiii + 186.

The Theory and Practice of Technical Writing. By Samuel Chandler Earle. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pp. viii + 301. $1.25.

Representative Essays in Modern Thought. By Harrison Ross Steeves and Frank Humphrey Ristine. New York, The American Book Company. Pp. vii + 503.

It is almost a formula with the author of a text-book of Rhetoric to protest that the new book is designed to fill a need in his own teaching that he has not found supplied by any existing volume. Such an implied indictment of the varied apparatus for teaching English under which our shelves already groan is to be attributed, not to mere caprice, but to the fact that courses in English Composition are really courses in a variety of things. Drill in matters of usage, with the enforcement of principles learned in the schools; the study of structure, with more concern for the ordering of thought than for its phrasing; the pursuit of style, having for its far distant goal the power to write with distinction; the analysis and technical mastery of the forms of discourse—these are only a few of the diverse purposes for which instructors in 'Freshman English' plan their courses.

In his *Essentials,* Professor Linn has frankly undertaken the first of these purposes. Of college freshmen, he says, "They ought not, perhaps, to need review of elementary details but they do need it. They ought, perhaps, to be able to appreciate the finer matters of style but they are not." So the book takes little for granted, presenting the theory of Rhetoric as simply as do many books designed for beginners in the high school. Yet it condenses rigidly, disposing of the whole composition, for example, in thirty pages and of the paragraph in less than ten. The treatment of these topics is necessarily dogmatic; and the text, though carefully lucid, is extremely concise.

Although the purpose of the book is thus avowedly the summarizing of elementary matters, considerable freshness is attained in form and in material. The familiar terminology is largely disregarded: unity becomes "limiting the subject;" coherence is covered by the term "organization," in some respects a better name; and emphasis is restricted to the sentence, to which it logically belongs. The qualities of diction appear as Exactness, Suggestiveness, and Propriety. The illustrative extracts, too, are fresh and ingenious, and so brief as not to distract, however entertainingly, from the matter in hand. The chief example of an outline expanded into a composition is a discussion of the methods of taking notes in class, a topic peculiarly pertinent at the beginning of freshman year.

On the whole, Professor Linn has made an admirable book of its kind. However, some will feel that a book of this kind should not be needed by a freshman class. Certainly, an instructor who chooses this book for its simplicity and lucidity should be prepared to add many things for himself. It is one of the merits of the book that it does leave something for the instructor to say. To the reviewer, however, the tendency of recent text-books, shared by that of Professor Linn, to give less space to diction, seems unfortunate. The secret of style resides after all in the choice of words. Division into paragraphs is chiefly what it seemed to the earlier writers on Rhetoric, a convention that requires no elaborate theory. The study of the sentence is, of course, important and valuable; but until a student is alive to the resources of his vocabulary and begins to cultivate what Mark Twain called "an ear for words," the best part of his foundation for future work in college is not laid. Without disparaging the craftsmanship of the book, therefore, one may well wish that the chapter on words was far less scanty. The thinness of the section on punctuation is open to more serious objection, and it is particularly to be regretted that the sentence, "In written composition the place of these inflections of the voice is supplied by punctuation," may seem to support an obsolete theory of pointing. Equally unfortunate is the definition (page 43) of a dependent clause, "An independent clause contains a subject and a predicate, a dependent clause lacks one or both." Certainly, a clause that lacks both ceases to be a clause and there is no reason why a dependent clause should lack either. "Not knowing where we were" is not, as Professor Linn calls it, a dependent clause but simply a participial phrase.

Professor Earle's book is based on the assumption that the engineer makes use of a form of expression no less special than that of the lawyer, the novelist, or the poet. This form is, of course, expository, and its qualities, according to Professor Earle, are accuracy of expression, completeness of treatment, logicalness of form, and economy of presentation. It is by insistence on the necessity of logical structure that the book comes nearest to fulfilling its promise of a special form. The exponent of the humanities may be interested in the author's frank admission of the value of Latin for technical students. He says, "Undoubtedly that subject [Latin] when taught as it has been in the best English schools and Universities is of inestimable value as a trainer of exact expression and consequently of exact thought. Now students, especially beginners, get little of any such drill, and the natural results show in the writings of technical graduates. If a teacher attempts to insist on accurate thought and accurate expression on the part of his students, he finds that he is going against the educational current."

The discipline once supplied by formal logic and later by Latin Professor Earle now proposes to find in the analysis of technical writings by means of complete and exact synopses. By such synopses, in tabular form with indentions to show the relative rank of statements, the principles of logical structure are first deduced, and these principles are then applied to such modified forms of exposition as descriptive exposition, narrative exposition, directions, and the combination of these forms. A second part of the book discusses the practical applications of the principles to the process of writing, including chapters on "Addressing General Readers," "Addressing Specialists," and a helpful chapter on "The Form of the Final Writing." A copiously illustrated appendix of some fifty pages supplies technical articles for study and criticism.

The qualities which Professor Earle regards as special to the writing of engineers are, after all, the qualities of all good exposition; for writing that is not "accurate, complete, logical, and economical" is extremely likely to be bad writing, no matter what the subject. If these qualities were sufficiently inculcated in the more elementary courses which Professor Earle presupposes, there would be little need for a special book. It is only too true, however, that "the undergraduate seldom has learned fully to appreciate what accuracy means either in observing, in thinking, or in recording." It is the purpose of this book to combine hard thinking with the practice of writing, to give a solid content to the work in English Composition. In this emphasis upon matter as well as upon details of form and in the effort to make theory useful, the book follows one of the sanest tendencies in the teaching of English.

The authors of *Representative Essays in Modern Thought* proceed upon an assumption entirely different from that of Professor Linn. Of the preparation which the college teacher may take for granted, they say, "It may be said, at least of our Eastern universities, that entrance into the freshman class usually implies adequate foundation in rhetoric." For freshmen thus adequately prepared the authors propose a course of writing based on ideas. Rejecting subjects drawn from the athletic, social, or curricular interests of the students as narrow, and those drawn from studies in English literature as unsatisfactory both for composition and for literature, they turn for material to that domain of interest which recognizes the student's critical concern with personal and social problems. Accordingly, their book is made up of solid essays designed, not to furnish models of composition, but to supply material for discussion in class and to stimulate ideas for themes. The essays are in many instances selected so as to present contrasting opinions on the same subject. Thus Huxley's "Science and Culture" is paired with Arnold's "Sweetness and Light"; Clifford's "The Ethics of Belief" with James's "The Will to Believe"; and Mill's "The Subjugation of Women" with Frederic Harrison's "The Failure of Woman." Nineteen such essays are presented without other apparatus than a brief biographical and critical note at the beginning of each essay.

As a collection of essays on social and ethical problems, the book is admirable, well-ordered and well-printed. As furnishing the basis for a course in ideas to serve for a general culture course, it might be useful. But as a method of teaching English Composition to freshmen to be turned to because "the old methods are unsatisfactory," it is much less convincing. The plan has been applied at Columbia University, it seems, where in classes of about twenty members two of the three hours a week are used in a discussion of the broader bearings of the subject in hand, and the third hour is used in the writing of an impromptu theme on a prescribed topic suggested by the essays. For a few freshmen, doubtless, though the number would not be large in any freshman class, the discussion of topics arising from these essays and the writing of such themes upon them might prove of immense value. For most freshmen everywhere there are certainly better topics than these vexed and vexing problems of faith, immortality, and social order, and better methods than Socratic discussion and impromptu writing.

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Kabale und Liebe. Ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel von FRIEDRICH SCHILLER. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Appendix by WM. ADDISON HERVEY. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912. 16mo., cviii + 279 pp.

Schillers *Kabale und Liebe* ist nach drei Richtungen hin bedeutsam: (1) als Kulturdokument, (2) als bürgerliches Trauerspiel und (3) als Kunstwerk des jungen Schiller. Das zusammen hat dieses Drama zu einem Lieblingsstück der literarhistorischen Forschung gemacht. Insofern hatte Hervey bei seiner Herausgabe einen umfangreichen Stoff zusammenzutragen. Ausgedehnte Studien haben nun seine kritische Textausgabe zu einer Art Muster philologischer Gründlichkeit und historischen Verständnisses gemacht. Die ruhige Sachlichkeit, mit der z.B. verschiedene Urteile über wichtigere Punkte gegeneinander abgewogen werden, ist vorbildlich zu nennen. Ein jeder Herausgeber sollte den Stand der Forschung möglichst objektiv klarstellen, ehe er seine eigene Kritik versucht.

Und doch vermag ich—bei der allergrössten Hochachtung vor solcher gediegenen Wissenschaftlichkeit und solchem pädagogischen Ernst—einige z.T. prinzipielle Bedenken und Einwände nicht zu unterdrücken.

Schon das seltsame Verhältnis von 108 Seiten Einleitung und 118 Seiten Anmerkungen und Kommentar zu 137 Seiten Text verrät ein Zuviel. Aus lauter methodischem Bestreben ist der Herausgeber zu ausführlich und deshalb unübersichtlich, d.h. unmethodisch geworden und hat sich in Einzelheiten verloren. M.E. sind die literarischen Vorgänger und Vorbilder Schillers zu breit behandelt worden. Die Beantwortung der Einzelfragen, was der Dichter ausser Shakespeare, Lessing, Rousseau und Goethe einem Miller, Gemmingen, H. G. Wagner, Lenz, Klinger und Leisewitz verdankt, ersetzt einem zudem keineswegs eine zusammenfassende Darlegung alles dessen, was nach Geist und Form der 'Empfindsamkeit' und dem 'Sturm und Drang' angehört.[1]

Schillers 'revolutionärer Realismus'—nach Bruno Busse[2]—, der sich bis zu den interessanten szenischen Bemerkungen verfolgen lässt, kann ohne den eigenartigen Naturalismus der Stürmer und Dränger nicht verstanden werden.[3] Hier wie anderswo hätten wir von einem so guten Kenner wie Hervey gern eine kurze, knappe *Synthese* statt der peinlich genauen *Analyse*. Das ästhetische Gefühl und auch das grundlegende Verhältnis von Erlebnis und Dichtung, das Hervey unterschätzt,[4] wären dabei besser weggekommen. Und unser Forschen nach dem Geist des jungen Schiller mit seinen eigentümlichen Lebens- und Kunstanschauungen[5] und seinem bühnentechnischen Ausdruck, wie er sich beim reifen Meister wiederfindet, wäre tiefer befriedigt worden.[6]

In einer Hinsicht kann ich auch der *didaktischen Methode* Herveys nicht zustimmen. Gewiss zeigen sich pädagogischer Sinn und reiche Erfahrung bei seiner Ausgabe überall. Die Illustrationen (Rambergsche Bilder und das interessante Schillerporträt von 1782) sind vorzüglich, ebenso viele Erläuterungen zum

[1] Das läge also in der Richtung der Bemerkungen Herveys auf S. 159f.

[2] In *Das Drama* [in Aus Natur und Geisteswelt], II (1911), 140; vgl. auch Hervey S. 264.

[3] Luisens Wort (bei Hervey S. 81, Z. 20; Bellermanns Ausgabe II, 374, Z. 25) "dass unser Herz an *natürlichen Trieben* so fest als an Ketten liegt" klingt wie ein Programmwort des naturalistisch gerichteten jungen Schiller, der 'die Angst vor dem Trivialen' sicher nicht kannte.

[4] S. LIX, in gewissem Widerspruch zu S. X, xiiif. Man vergleiche hierüber Kuno Fischers wertvollen Vortrag *Die Selbstbekenntnisse Schillers*, Frankfurt a. M. 1858 (besonders S. 23 und 53 ff.); auch Eugen Kühnemanns *Schiller*, 3. Auflage, S. 201, 217, u.a.

[5] Gute Hilfe gewährt jetzt auch Robert Petsch, *Deutsche Dramaturgie von Lessing bis Hebbel*, München, 1912 (Pandora, XI. Bd.), S. xxiii ff, 25 ff.

[6] An *Maria Stuart* erinnert Hervey S. LIII und 233; andere Hinweise beschränken sich aufs Sprachliche.—Luisens Worte (bei Hervey S. 98, Z. 15 ff; Werke II, S. 388, 34 ff.): "Und wenn Ihr verächtlicher Fersenstoss den beleidigten Wurm aufweckte, dem sein Schöpfer gegen Misshandlung noch einen Stachel gab?" gehören in eine Linie mit Vers 646 ff. im *Wilhelm Tell* (Werke V, S. 317). Nur dass die jugendliche Neigung zum Protest versittlicht ist. Wie in den *Räubern* (vgl. Kühnemanns Nachweis, a.a.O., S. 58, 67) knüpft Schiller auch in *Kabale und Liebe* (z.B. Werke II, S. 382, 21 ff.) seiner Menschen Schicksal unmittelbar an Gott.

Text, die zusammenfassenden Besprechungen von Szenen und Akten, die Liste Memorabilia[7] und endlich die sehr praktischen Zusammenstellungen von Archaismen und Idiomen usw., die noch vervollständigt werden könnten, was ausserdem die Anmerkungen entlasten würde. Dagegen muss ich bezweifeln, dass gerade dem 'Undergraduate,' für den es bestimmt ist, mit einer solchen Fülle von detaillierten Anmerkungen etc. wirklich gedient ist. Hier hat Hervey sicher zu viel getan, wie mir überhaupt seine gesamte Ausgabe auf den Interessenkreis und die Bedürfnisse von 'Postgraduates' zugeschnitten erscheint. Und wenn auch Schillers Sprache und Stil in *Kabale und Liebe* nicht *allzu* schwierig für das Jahr nach den 'Intermediate' Anforderungen sein mag, so passt doch diese Ausgabe nicht dafür, weil sie z.B. dazu an- und verleitet, eigentliche Fragen der philologischen Kritik *zu früh* in den Unterricht zu bringen. Und nun gar zu denken, dass solche Ausgaben mit rein philologischen Einleitungen in die 'high schools' gelangen!

Es ist hohe Zeit, dass sich eine amerikanische Philologenversammlung einer Reform der fremdsprachlichen Schulausgaben ernstlich annimmt. Nach gründlicher Erörterung der wissenschaftlichen und pädagogischen Probleme muss eine allgemeine Einigung in den Hauptfragen und auf grund des theoretischen Programms eine praktisch erfolgreiche Verhandlung mit den Verlagshäusern zu erzielen sein.

Ich glaube, dass hierbei ein Hinweis auf z.B. deutsche Verhältnisse, die in dieser Hinsicht tatsächlich klarer sind, nur willkommen sein kann. Natürlich denke ich dabei nicht an eine mehr oder weniger kritiklose Nachahmung, an ein neues unglückliches 'Experiment,' sondern an *die verständnisvolle Übertragung wirksamer pädagogischer Prinzipien auf hiesige Verhältnisse.*

Für 'high school' und 'college' wäre es unbedingt heilsam, wenn der gut edierte und genügend kommentierte Text vom kritischen Apparat getrennt würde. Dann machte man die Schulausgaben etwa wie die besten Bücher in den Sammlungen von Velhagen und Klasing, Freytag, Graeser u.a. oder in der Serie 'Die Meisterwerke der deutschen Bühne' (herausgegeben von Georg Witkowski), wo in der Einleitung oft sehr hübsch Entstehungsgeschichte, Stoff und Handlung, Charaktere, Form und Sprache und Bühnengeschichte kurz und knapp, aber wesentlich und meistens auch wissenschaftlich zuverlässig behandelt und ausser der Literatur noch Anmerkungen gegeben werden, die natürlich hierzulande bedeutend vermehrt werden müssten.

Die kritischen Erläuterungen, die von selbst dem gewissenhaften Lehrer und dem wirklich suchenden Studenten vorbehalten bleiben, sammelt man vielleicht am besten in einem besonderen Archiv oder einer 'Bibliothek von Erläuterungsschriften,' etwa wie es Bellermann für Schillers und Kettner für Lessings Dramen getan haben, nur eben nach wissenschaftlichen *und pädagogischen* Gesichtspunkten. Man denke an Königs 'Erläuterungen zu den Klassikern' oder noch besser an O. Fricks und Gaudigs 'Wegweiser durch die Klassischen Schuldramen.' Auch die 'Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht' liefert fortlaufend allerlei wertvolles Material zu diesem ganzen Kapitel.

F. Schoenemann.

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[7] Hier fehlt m.E. einiges, z.B. Millers "Mensch ist Mensch" oder "ein plumper gerader teutscher Kerl"; des Präsidenten charakteristisches Bekenntnis: "Das Verbrechen klebt nicht am Erbe" und seine Bemerkung über Kalb: "Ein Bonmot von vorgestern. Die Mode vom vorigen Jahr," die den Hofmarschall besser bezeichnet als das von Hervey angeführte: "Mein Verstand steht still," was eine zu farblose Umgangsphrase bedeutet.

Le Livre des Trois Vertus de Christine de Pisan et son milieu historique et littéraire, par Mathilde Laigle. Paris: Champion, 1912. (xii + 375 pp.) 8vo. (Bibliothèque du XV^e^ Siècle, t. xvi).

The pious Abyssinian commences any literary effort with an invocation of the ninety-six names of God; Miss Laigle commences her

work with four pages of an invocation of thirty scholars of various degrees of latitude and intelligence, whom she has met in her scholastic journeyings. The one charm is as effective as the other towards writing a good book. It is a truism that history can not be written from manuscript sources. It is even more difficult to write a literary study of an unpublished work; to analyse it, and to cite appropriate passages and illustrate them properly. It is easy to follow the line of thought of a formal treatise on family economics such as the *Livre des Trois Vertus;* it is quite another thing to show its relation to earlier similar treatises and its place in the setting of contemporary culture. Such an undertaking demands both a wide reading in general literature, and an intimate acquaintance with half a dozen related fields of research within a limited period. Miss Laigle has planned her book well; it is divided and subdivided, like an old-time scholastic dissertation, into nine parts and fifty chapters, each with appropriate titles, and ends with seven pages devoted to a Conclusion. The chief objection to such an elaborate structure is that often, and in this particular case, the title gives all the information to be found under certain headings. The author's personal comments on Christine's statements reminds one too often of the song of Monsieur de la Palisse, and her acquired information is frequently inaccurate. The main subject of this book is the social conditions in France at the beginning of the fifteenth century, on which one of the author's chief authorities should have been Schultz's *Das höfische Leben* and *Das häusliche Leben,* even if they had been the only German works cited in the course of the book. Then it is unfortunate that she knows only a chapter of Jusserand's *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France,* published in a journal, instead of the book itself. The use of a number of such standard works on various topics would have impressed her readers much more than references to manuscripts of works of which we have editions, such as "Un manuscrit des *Gesta Romanorum,* du British Museum, Harl. 3132, Cap. xliv, parle d'une loi de l'empereur Octavien concernant l'enlèvement d'une pucelle" (p. 140, n. 4). An acquaintance with Oesterley's classic edition of this medieval work would have shown the author that the story was not confined to either a single manuscript, or to the *Gesta Romanorum.*[1] Further the *Gesta Romanorum* is not a historical work, notwithstanding its title. On the other hand, it was very unfortunate to give an impossible reference ("*Gesta Romanorum,* Br. Mus. Ms. Harl. *addition,* cap. xxxii") in citing (pp. 362-63) phrases from a French version of the *Gesta Romanorum* which is certainly not generally known to the scholarly world. The religious miracle-story of the harlot who was saved through remorse, originally one of Jacques de Vitry's exempla,[2] appears as an additional chapter in an English version, and without a moral,[3] as was without doubt the case in the French version, so that the author's touching characterization of the collection, "les *Gesta Romanorum,* ce trésor de leçons morales cachées sous le voile d'histoires délectables autant que véridiques" is not applicable to this story. Again it comes as a shock to find (p. 217) a prose anecdote cited from a published verse composition, the *Doctrinal Sauvage,*[4] after a manuscript in which M. Paul Meyer,[5] for instance, has failed to note its appearance.

This is where Miss Laigle's love of the *inédit* has led her. It may be interesting to see what her use or ignorance of ordinary printed books does for her. As an illustration I cite a note on p. 11 in order to comment on it as I might comment on a hundred other passages in the book:

"Voir ce que dit du *Livre des Quatre Vertus* M. Arthur Piaget, *Sermonnaires et Traducteurs,* p. 266, dans *Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. fr.,* de Petit de Julleville, t. II: 'Pour le même prince (c'est-à-dire Jean de Berry)

[1] Cf. pp. 685, 749; A. J. Herbert, *Cat. of Romances,* III, 161, 190, 211, 215, 219, 225, 229.

[2] *Anecdotes historiques etc. d'Etienne de Bourbon,* 153–4; H. Gering, *Isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen,* II, 395; cf. P. Toldo, *Herrigs Arch.,* CXIX, 355; Herbert, *op. cit.,* 259, 432.

[3] *Early English Versions of the G. R.,* ed. Herrtage, 390–2.

[4] Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil,* II, 150–161.

[5] Cf. *Rom.* XXXIX, 554.

Jean de Courtecuisse traduisit en 1403 "le livre de Sénèque des *Quatre Vertus cardinaulx,*" c'est-à-dire le *De quatuor Virtutibus,* qui n'est qu'un remaniement de la première partie du *Liber de copia verborum,* oeuvre d'un faussaire du IIIe ou IVe siècle, que Martin de Braga s'appropia plus tard sous le titre de *Libellus de formula de honestae vitae.*'

"On attribue généralement au seul Jean de Courtecuisse la traduction du Livre des Quatre Vertus offerte au duc de Berry. Cependant le hasard m'a fait découvrir un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale, le n° 1091, fonds franç., catalogué comme le *Livre de Prudence* de Christine de Pisan, mais qui en réalité contient le Livre de Prudence de maistre Laurens de Premierfait et entrepris sur l'ordre du duc Jean de Berry, ainsi que l'affirme le Prologue. Il est étrange que le duc de Berry ait voulu avoir deux traductions du même traité latin, faites par deux clercs différents.

"D'ailleurs ce *Livre de Prudence* ou des *Quatre Vertus cardinaulx* de maître Laurent n'occupe que 15 pages et il est suivi immédiatement du *Livre des Trois Vertus.*

"La version glosée qu'a donnée Christine du *De quatuor Virtutibus* est différente de celle de Jean Courtecuisse et de celle de Laurent de Premierfait."

Neither medieval author or scribe, nor M. Piaget is responsible for the queer syntax of the title of Martin of Braga's work in the above passage. Conjectures in regard to the work itself made twenty years ago do not bear criticism in the light of more recent investigations. The *Formula honestae vitae* is an independent work of the Spanish author, a laborious stylistic redaction of a lost work of Seneca, and the first part of the *De copia verborum* consists of phrases selected from it.[6] Scholars whose discoveries are not owing to chance, Delisle,[7] Paulin Paris,[8] and Hauvette[9] have noted the identity of the translation, attributed in a single manuscript to Laurent de Premierfait, with that of Jean de Courtecuisse, whom they consider without hesitation as the real translator. Further, there is no authority, in this manuscript, for reading the author's name "Laurens." The value of Miss Laigle's remarks on the relations of the translations to each other needs no comment.

Does one need to show further proofs that this book is worthless? The work of criticism is too disheartening to be cheered even by such flowers of rhetoric, morality, and criticism as the following examples:

"La poésie pathétique des paysans de Barbizon ou la vision farouche de La Bruyère n'ont jamais effleuré l'âme simple de Christine de Pisan. Elle ne s'attendrira pas plus sur le sort de ces femmes penchées vers la terre que sur celui de la petite boutiquière assise derrière son comptoir ou de la brodeuse courbée sur son métier. Le travail est la loi de ce monde; personne ne saurait, sans décheoir, s'y dérober." etc., etc. (p. 298).

"Il faut le dire à la louange de Christine, personne n'a eu comme elle et au même degré, de son temps, un sens si délicat et si juste de la pudeur dans les mots: ellé tient des poètes du *dolce stil nuovo* la dignité du langage, la chasteté de la pensée" (p. 175).

The publisher was certainly ill-advised to publish this book as one of the volumes of a collection of scholarly works which commend themselves to the trained reader in every way. He should make arrangements at once to substitute another volume for this work, and so save the reputation of the collection, and of his own critical powers.

George L. Hamilton.

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[6] Cf., *e. g.*, Bickel, *Rh. Museum,* LX, 505–551.

[7] *Cab. des Mss.,* I, 60; III, 184.

[8] *Les Mss. fr.,* II, 121 ff.

[9] *De Laurentio de Primofato,* 18–20.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Textual Correction

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In copying the Caiphas poem in ms. Sloane 2478 the scribe frequently appends to words ending with certain letters a loop or flourish, which in most instances is clearly without significance. Indeed, in printing this poem recently[1] I disregarded these loops ex-

[1] *Kittredge Anniversary Papers,* pp. 105 ff.

cept in lines 160 and 161, where I expanded them as plural endings (*þonkes*: *menamonkes*). I now believe that the loops are to be disregarded in these cases also, and that lines 160–162 should read:

> Doþ so þt ich cunne ȝou þonk
> Wyþ bordoun hauteyn men amonk
> lat me hure ȝou synge.

The context makes it clear, as Dr. Henry Bradley has kindly pointed out to me, that *men* is here the musical term, the middle part (*intercentus*). It will be sufficient to note the occurrence of the same terms in the Auchinleck version of the *Purgatory of St. Patrick:*[2]

> þer on sat foules of heuen,
> and breke her notes wiþ miri gle,
> burdoun and mene gret plente,
> and hautain wiþ heiȝe steuen.

The spelling *amonk* (instead of *among*) may have been adopted merely for the sake of the rime. On the other hand, the fact that *-ng*—even without a following voiceless consonant[3]—sometimes becomes *-nk* in cases where no question of rime is involved, suggests that this orthography may have had a phonological basis. Evidence pointing in this direction is found in late Anglo-Saxon glosses as well as in Middle English. Thus: *þinc* (Ang. Sax. *þing*), Napier's *Old Eng. Glosses,* 1. 1958, 2012, 2335, 3390, 5221; 56. 149; *þinȝce,* 1. 5119; Mid. Eng. *þynkes, Owayn Miles* v. 52 (*Engl. Stud.* I, 114). Similarly: *cyninȝces* (glossing *regnatoris*), *Old Eng. Glosses,* 1. 4472; Mid. Eng. *kingk, Northern Passion* (Camb. MS. Gg. 1. 1, fol. 123^b, col. 1). One may note further the form *sprinkes* (for *springes*) in the fragment of verse printed by G. E. Woodbine[4] from a Lincoln's Inn MS. Finally, it is interesting to observe that in *Pearl* (v. 905) *among,* though spelled without a final *c* (*k*), is made to rhyme with *þonc, wlonc,* etc.

The adverbial use of *among,* of which the line in *Caiphas* affords an excellent example, is recognized by Bradley-Stratman, though it is ignored by Mätzner and the *New Eng. Dict.* The following phrases will sufficiently illustrate this adverbial use: "ofte y syke & serewe among": (Böddeker, *Alteng. Dicht.,* p. 216, line 7); "& many stedes wast among" (Robt. of Brunne's *Chronicle,* v. 8682); "euere among" (*Speculum of Gy,* vv. 186, 880).

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[2] Stanza 145, ed. Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* I, 108.
[3] Cf. Wright's *Old Eng. Grammar,* § 318.
[4] *Mod. Lang. Review,* IV, 236.

A SONNET OF E. MANFREDI CORRECTED BY SCIPIONE MAFFEI

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Here is a well-known sonnet of Eustacchio Manfredi:

> Poichè scese quaggiù l'anima bella
> Che nel sen di costei posar dovea,
> Incerta errando in questa parte e in quella,
> Niuna degna di lei salma porgea.
>
> "Qual basso luogo è questo, e chi m'appella
> Quaggiù dal ciel?", sdegnando ella dicea;
> E già per ritornar di stella in stella
> Era all 'alta, onde scese, eterna Idea.
>
> Pur seguendo dei fati il gran disegno,
> Entrò nel vago destinato velo,
> Vago bensì, ma pur di lei non degno;
>
> E già lo sprezza, e già colma di zelo
> Cerca dentro il suo fral breve ritegno
> Tutte le vie di ricondursi al cielo.

This sonnet was much admired in Arcadia. To certain moderns it has seemed an approach to the manner of Dante. I see in it only a conventional pseudo-Platonism, an idealistic pose, of which the real essence is gallantry. Concari (*Il Settecento,* p. 16) finds it an imitation of Vincenzo Leonio. It is not surely a model of Arcadian correctness, as witness the frequent repetitions: *quaggiù, degno, scese, e già.* In an age of improvisation such formal trifles doubtless mattered little. More amusing is the embarrassment in which Manfredi finds himself in trying to give coherence to his gallantry. It is useless for him to slink away behind a puny *vago ben sì:* he surely posits that the lady's physical beauty is not worthy of her

soul! Let us hope she let him off for his good intentions; his awkwardness was worthily punished by the superior agility of his friend Scipione Maffei. The difficulty, born of idealism, which Manfredi surmounts with a poor apology (*vago ben sì*) and a *Deus ex machina* (the will of fate), Maffei avoids with a turn of perfect gallantry. With more precise terminology (*informando*), with more fluidity of style, with greater logical coherence, Maffei thus reworks the sonnet, preserving half the rhymes and taking over some of the cadences:

Pria di scender qua giù l'alma d'Irene,
Per gli campi del ciel lieta scorrea,
Più felici rendendo e più serene
Le regïon della superna Idea.
L'ammonì 'l genio suo che quelle amene
Dive piagge lasciar già si volea,
E ch'informando poi spoglie terrene
Al suo corso mortal gir se'n dovea.
Con tale annunzio il Dio sì la trafisse
Che d'ira e duol divenne foco e gelo,
Qual chi strana e crudel sentenza udisse.
Ris'egli e le mostrò l'uman suo velo:
Rasserenata allor, "Ben si può," disse,
"Per sì bella prigion lasciare il cielo."[1]

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Centrifugal Force Applied to Fortune's Wheel

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—The conventional wheel of Fortune as described in mediaeval French literature is represented as bringing the exalted low and elevating the humble. A typical statement of its function is contained in vv. 4595–99 of the *Roman de la Rose* (edition of Francisque-Michel):

Ele a une roe qui torne,
Et quant ele veut, ele met
Le plus bas amont ou sommet,
Et celi qui est sor la roe
Reverse à un tor en la boe.

[1] Scipione Maffei, *Poesie*, Verona, Andreoni, 1752, I, p. 111.

Variations from this form of statement are chiefly verbal, the conception of the wheel and its function being almost universally the same. An exception must be made, however, in the case of *Les Échecs Amoureux*, an allegorical poem of the end of the fourteenth century, in which the lover's pursuit of his lady is described under the figure of a game of chess.[1] On folio 87, recto, the anonymous poet gives us the conventional view:

Fortune, que met s'estudie
A tourner sa roe diverse,
Het l'orgueilleux et le reverse
Souvent du plus hault de sa roe
Tout au plus bas emmy la boe.

But farther on he applies the principle of centrifugal force to Fortune's wheel, advising people to shun the periphery which moves so fast, and to remain as close as possible to the hub where the motion is much less. This application of the principle of centrifugal force to the wheel of Fortune is, I believe, unique in French allegorical poetry dating before the year 1400.

Fol. 90, ro. Et pour ce que j'ay de fortune
Fait ichi mencion aucune,
Je t'en dy generalment
Que chils qui veult seurement
Passer les perils de ce monde,
Ou fortune regne et habonde,
Et soy de tout vice eslongier,
Il se doit ou my lieu plongier
Le plus pres qu'il puet de sa roe,
Affin qu'il ne verse en la boe
Pour les extremites muables,
Car chils my lieux est si estables
Qui ne se mue de son fort
Tant puist tourner la roe fort.
Mais les extremites se meuvent,
Onques en un point ne se treuvent,
Ains vont puis dessoubs puis desseure
Sans arrester une seule heure.
Mais com plus loings du moyen sont,
Et plus hastif mouvement ont,
Si com chascuns concepvoir puet
En toute roe qui se muet;

[1] The publication of this poem is promised by Dr. Jos. Mettlich of Münster i. W. My citations are from MS. O:66 of the Royal Public Library at Dresden.

Car la part du centre loingtaine
Se muet plus tost que la prochaine,
Par neccessite naturelle.
Fuye dont l'extremite telle,
Fol. 90, vo. Et pense de vertu ensuivre.

STANLEY L. GALPIN.

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ROBERT GREENE AND THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF *Achilles Tatius*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In his recent book on *Greek Romances*[1] Dr. S. L. Wolff has established Greene's indebtedness to *Achilles Tatius*, leaving undecided the question of the translation used by Greene. Now I have acquired a few years ago for about sixty cents a copy of the Italian version of *Achilles Tatius*[2] and have been very naturally amusing myself by comparing it with the Greek passages quoted on the double-column pages of Dr. Wolff's book. There is very little doubt in my mind that Greene used the above mentioned Italian translation by Francesco Angelo Coccio and it will be sufficient for the purpose to quote the Italian for the ἔκφρασις on page 399 of the *Greek Romances.*

. . . mi uenne ueduta quiui appiccata una tauola, nella quale insiememente & terra, & mare era dipinto.
La pittura era di Europa, il mare de Phenici, la terra di Sidone.
nella terra era un prato, & una brigata di fanciulle,—nel mare era un toro, che notaua sopra i cui homeri sedeua una bella giouane,
che co'l toro nauigaua uerso Cãdia,
Nella estremità del prato, doue la terra arriuaua al mare, l'artefice haueua dipinte alcune donzelle, il cui sembiãte mostraua et letitia, & timore, . . . gli occhi uolti uerso il mare, . . . le mani estẽdeuan quasi uerso il toro, entrauan nella estremità del mare tãto auãti, quãto l'õda auãzaua un poco sopra la parte dinãzi del piede. pareua che uolessero correre al toro, ma per rispetto del mare temessero di proceder piu auãti, . . . Nel mezo del mare era dipinto il toro portato dalle onde . . . sopra gli homeri suoi sedeua la giouane, . . . con la sinistra mano tenendo il corno, . . . una ueste di porpora . . . le mani amendue erano distese, l'una al corno, e l'altra alla coda: . . . intorno al toro saltauano i Delphini, scherzauano gli Amori, . . . Amore picciolo fanciullo tiraua il toro, haueua le ali tese, da lato gli pendeua la pharetra, teneua il fuoco, & era riuolto quasi uerso Gioue, & rideua, quasi schernẽdolo, che per sua cagione era diuenuto toro.
Io ueramente lodaua tutte le cose della dipintura, & sopra tutto, come innamorato, piu curiosamente riguardaua Amore, che conduceua il toro, & meco istesso diceua, Come un fanciullo signoreggia il Cielo, il mare, & la terra. Mentre io cosi parlaua, un giouinetto, il quale si trouaua esser quivi presente, disse, etc.

I should say that Burton's translation of Tatius, from which Dr. Wolff quotes only one sentence on p. 482, is derived from the Latin version where the above sentence runs as follows: *qualemque illam rapuit, virginem, uti antea promiserat, manere passus est. Ipse vero plerisque in rebus tractandis.* : . .

The corresponding Italian text is: *si come le hauea promesso, la lasciò intatta, talquale egli l'haueua tolta fanciulla. Esso poi in ogni cosa.* . . .

JOSEPH DE PEROTT.

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[1] *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, by Samuel Lee Wolff, Ph. D. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1912.

[2] *Di Achille Tatio Alessandrino dell'amor di Leucippe et di Clitophonte libri otto Tradotti in volgare da Francesco Angelo Coccio.* In Venetia, Appresso Domenico, & Gio Battista Guerra, fratelli, 1563.

BRIEF MENTION

In *Der Arme Heinrich von Hartmann von Aue, Überlieferung und Herstellung,* von E. Gierach (Germanische Bibl. III, 3), Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, we are for the first time offered not only a critically edited text, but the complete MS. tradition on which the reconstruction is based. The left-hand pages give in parallel columns the readings of MSS. A and B^a, while the right-hand pages give the text as restored by the editor. The St. Florian and Indersdorf fragments are printed at the bottom of the page, and the variants of B^b are noted in the Appendix. The Introduction gives a brief but adequate sketch of (1) the Manuscripts and (2) the Editions. The Appendix describes minutely the peculiarities of the writing of B^a, and also furnishes a list of the in-

stances where the reading adopted by Gierach differs from those of previous editors. How numerous these deviations are may be seen from the fact that this enumeration covers nine closely printed octavo pages. No commentary is added, and for the justification of the readings adopted we are asked to await the appearance of an article in a future number of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*. The text will undoubtedly be very useful not only as a *corpus vile* for Seminary exercises but as a basis for the study of Hartmann's language.

Johann Peter Hebel has a humor that is all his own, and certain selections from his "Schatzkästlein," notably "Kannitverstan" and "Seltsamer Spaziergang," have hence long been favorites in German Readers, here as abroad. The *Schatzkästlein des Rheinischen Hausfreundes* has now been edited with Notes and Vocabulary by Menco Stern (New York, American Book Company). The editor does not say for what grade of pupils the book is intended, but to judge from a number of Notes he has in mind pupils still in the elementary stage of study. If so, one cannot emphasize too strongly the danger of putting before beginners the archaic, dialectic, colloquial and humoristically twisted language of Hebel. This is all the truer since the editor (Preface, p. 4) is inclined to make light of these differences. For somewhat more advanced pupils, however, the book is a welcome addition to the available literature. It is edited with considerable care and has a number of effective illustrations.

In *Ovid and the Renascence in Spain* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1913) Dr. Rudolph Schevill has printed an interesting but rather diffuse study of the influence of the great Roman story-teller upon Spanish prose fiction of the Renascence. It examines the rise of the 'Ovidian tale' (the romance of intrigue) in Italy, and then takes up the 'continuation of the Ovidian tradition' in Spain—especially in the *Celestina,* in the *Tragedia Policiana,* and in Cervantes' *El Celoso Estremeño.* It discusses two important versions of the *Metamorphoses,* by Viana and by Bustamante, and devotes some twenty-five pages to the allusions to classical mythology in Cervantes. It touches, also, on the endless works of Lope de Vega, and on the lyric poetry of the sixteenth century. The writer knows his Ovid well, and most of his conclusions and inferences will commend themselves at once to the reader. On p. 9 there is an unfortunate footnote which proposes to restore the name of Ovid in a passage of Isidore's *De summo bono* (iii, 13). Dr. Schevill had before him an old black-letter edition (of Leipzig, 1493) in which "the illuminated initial at the beginning of ch. xiii was never inserted, and the chapter begins: [ ]*o etc.*" "Judging by other squares", he decides that three letters are missing. Accordingly, he writes [*Nas*]*o etc.,* and thus provides a subject for the plural verb. But a space left for an illuminated initial is usually a space left for a single letter; and surely *Naso etc.* is an uncommon way of beginning a formal sentence. Consulting two early texts of the *De summo bono* (Paris, 1491, and Venice, 1483) I find that the first word of the sentence is *Poete,* or *Poetę.* In the Paris copy the initial letter has been duly inserted, in red; in the other the initial space has not yet been filled, and a small *p* is printed there, as a guide. The long chapter on the Middle Ages (pp. 6–86) is merely preliminary. It shows, as clearly as such things can be shown, that *El Libro de buen Amor,* by Juan Ruiz, "betrays a thorough acquaintance on the part of its author with the Latin poet."

W. P. M.

Mr. Lucien Foulet has just published (Hachette, 1913. lxii + 321 pp.) an edition of the *Correspondance de Voltaire, 1726–1729,* embracing the extant letters by or to Voltaire during his stay in England. The instructive group of letters thus detached is edited with scholarly care and clearness. This moment in Voltaire's life, so important for his own development and for subsequent French literary history, stands out clearly from what went before and what followed, and lends itself to separate treatment. In the introduction, the abundant footnotes, and the ten appendices, the editor has gathered and analyzed all that seems to him to throw direct light on the Voltaire of these three years. Incidentally it also throws light on the England and France of the time. Mr. Foulet has shown most unusual skill in molding these diversified materials into a book that, without any sacrifice of the necessarily somewhat complex critical apparatus, is attractive and interesting from cover to cover.

ERRATA

In the third paragraph of Dr. Tuttle's review of Tesson's *Méthode naturelle,* January, 1914, p. 27, a Greek omega should stand in the blank space before the parenthesis, and the *h* after the next semicolon should be a turned *h*.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Vol. XXIX. BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1914. No. 3.

DIE JAMBISCHEN METRA ALFONS DES X

Die Marienlieder des Königs Alfons des Weisen sind für die Geschichte der spanischen Metrik das wichtigste Denkmal. Ich habe kürzlich im *Bulletin Hispanique* über die Zehnsilbner und in den *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* über die Alexandriner berichtet. Hier fasse ich die Lieder zusammen, die im jambischen und jonischen Rhythmus abgefasst sind. Unter dem Rhythmus verstehe ich den Rhythmus der Melodie. Wenn man von der Musik absieht, so hat ein grosser Teil der Lieder des Königs überhaupt keinen Rhythmus und kein Metrum, wenigstens kein verständliches. Die übliche Kunst des Silbenzählens versagt hier häufig, ebenso wie sie in der spanischen Volkspoesie, z. B. in der Seguidilla, noch heute versagt. Der König hat recht oft keine feste Tonsilbe am Versschluss, und manchmal variiert die Silbenzahl auch in Folge von freier Behandlung des Versanfangs. Auch sind die Verse häufig so lang, dass das Ohr nicht im Stande ist, die Silben zu zählen.

Ich benutze photographische Reproduktionen der Handschriften j. b. 2 und T. j. 1 des Eskurial. Die Notenschrift unterscheidet zwischen langen und kurzen Silben, die ich mit – und v bezeichne. Sowohl die Länge als die Kürze können in zwei und mehr Noten aufgelöst werden. In diesem Falle kann man den zeitlichen Wert der Notenverbindung aus der Schrift nicht ersehen, und ich brauche deshalb das Zeichen o für alle Notenverbindungen, einerlei ob sie einer Länge oder einer Kürze entsprechen. Ich bezeichne die *Cantigas de Santa María* mit M., und die *Cantigas de las Fiestas de Santa María* mit F. M.

Ich beginne mit dem jambischen Achtsilbner (französische Zählung) und gebe als Beispiel den *Prólogo de las Cantigas de las Fiestas de Santa María* (j. b. 2, fol. 1 v). Ich gebe zunächst den Rhythmus, dann den Text mit den rhythmischen Accenten, und zuletzt den Rhythmus in der Form, wie er in der Notenschrift sich darstellt..

v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–

Quem Sánta Máriá seruír,
non póde nó seu bén falír.
E pórque éu gran sábor éy
de á seruír, seruíaéy,
e quánto póder púnnarév
dos séus mirágres déscobrír.

vo,vo,vo,o–
vo,oo,oo,o–
v–,vo,v–,o–
v–,vo,v–,o–
v–,vo,vo,o–
vo,oo,oo,o–

Dasselbe Metrum findet sich in M. 80, 112 und 230. In M. 112 kommt am Versschluss Widerstreit von rhythmischem und grammatikalischem Accent vor, ein in jambischen Versen sehr häufiges Phänomen:

Nas cóitas déuemós clamár
a Uírgen, éstrelá do már.
Está e Sánta Máriá
que áos séus noit' é diá
guardá de mál et ós guiá
pois sé lle uán encómendár.

Für den jambischen Achtsilbner kann die siebensilbige katalektische Nebenform eintreten. Es ist anzunehmen, dass in derselben die im Metrum fehlende Zeit durch Dehnung der vorletzten Silbe ersetzt wurde. Ich bezeichne diese rhythmische Dehnung durch einen nachgesetzten Punkt:

v–,v–,v–,.–

Als Beispiel kann M. 24 (j. b. 2, fol. 48 v und T. j. 1, fol. 36 r) dienen:

v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,.–

Madré de Déus, non pód' errár
quen én ti á fiançá.
Non pód' errár nen fálecér
quen lóar té sab' é temér.
D' est' ún mirágre rétraér
queró, que fói en Françá.

v0,v–,00,0–
v0,v–,00,–
v–,v–,00,00
v–,v–,00,00
v0,v–,00,0–
v0,v–,00,–

Durch Verbindung von acht- und siebensilbigen Kurzversen entstehen Langverse. Es finden sich folgende Kombinationen. M. 237 hat sechsmal 8 + 7. M. 400 hat 8 + 7, 8 + 7, 8, 8 + 7, 8 + 7. M. 368 hat sechs Alexandriner von der Form 7 + 7. Dagegen bestehen die Alexandriner von M. 296 aus 7 + 6 Silben. Der jambische Rhythmus ist im Alexandriner der seltenere; die meisten Lieder, die diesen Vers aufweisen, haben anapästische Taktart.

Der Zehnsilbner gehört meistens zur daktylischen Gattung, aber in M. 118 und 290 ist er jambisch. Ich gebe als Beispiel M. 290 (j. b. 2, fol. 260 r):

v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–

Maldíto séia quén non lóará
a qué en sí todás bondádes á.
Maldíto séia ó que nón loár
a qué de bóndadés non óuve pár
nen áuerá mentr' ó mundó durár;
ca Déus non féz outrá nen tál fará.

v–,v0,v–,v–,0–
v–,v0,v–,v0,0–
v–,v0,v–,v0,0–
v–,v0,v–,v0,0–
v–,v0,v–,v–,0–
v–,v0,v–,v0,0–

Jambische Zwölfsilbner finden sich in M. 73 (j. b. 2, fol. 91 r und T. j. 1, fol. 107 r):

v–,v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–,v–,v–

Ben pód' as cóusas féas frémosás tornár
a qué pod' ós pecádos dás almás lauár.
E d'ést' un míragré fremóso uós diréi
que áuéó na Clúsa, cóm' escrít' achéi,
que féz Santá María; é creó e séi
que móstrou óutros múitos én aquél logár.

0–,v0,v0,00,0–,00
v–,v0,v0,00,0–,00
0–,v0,v0,00,0–,00
0–,v0,v0,00,0–,00
0–,v0,v0,00,0–,00
v–,v0,v0,00,0–,00

M. 52 mischt jambische Zwölf- und Zehnsilbner. F. M. 4 zeigt Elf- und Zehnsilbner desselben Rhythmus. M. 81, 103 und 285 vereinigen jambische mit trochäischen Versen.

Bis hierher habe ich die Verse behandelt, die aus reinen Jamben bestehen. Nun kann für den Jambus ein Trochäus eintreten. Dieser Vorgang lässt sich in der griechischen Rhythmik, welche der mittelalterlichen näher steht als die moderne, nachweisen. Ich zitiere folgende Beispiele:

Anacreontea 37.

v–,v–,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,.–
–v,v–,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,.–
–v,v–,v–,.–

Φιλῶ γέροντα τερπνόν,
φιλῶ νέον χορευτάν·
ἂν δ' ὁ γέρων χορεύῃ,
τρίχας γέρων μέν ἐστιν,
τὰς δὲ φρένας νεάζει.

Anacreontea 49.

–v,v–,v–,.–
–v,v–,v–,.–
–v,v–,v–,.–
–v,v–,v–,.–
–v,–v,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,.–

Μή με φύγῃς ὁρῶσα
τὰν πολιὰν ἔθειραν·
μηδ' ὅτι σοι πάρεστιν
ἄνθος ἀκμαῖον ἥβας
δῶρα τἀμὰ διώσῃ.
ὅρα κἀν στεφάνοισιν
ὅπως πρέπει τὰ λευκὰ
ῥόδοις κρίνα πλακέντα.

Am einfachsten liegt der Fall, wenn der Dijambus (v–v–) in den Choriambus (–vv–) verwandelt wird. Als Beispiel gebe ich M. 92 (j. b. 2, fol. 105 r und T. p. 1, fol. 133 v):

–v,v–,v–,v–
–v,v–,v–,v–
–v,v–,v–,v–
–v,v–,v–,v–
–v,v–,v–,v–
–v,v–,v–,v–

Santá María póder á
de dár lum' á quen ó non á.
Ca dé dar lûm' a grân podér
a qué o lûm' en sí tragér
foi, qué nos féz a Déus ueér
que pér al nón uirámos iá.

–v,v–,vo,vo
–v,o–,oo,oo
–v,v–,vo,oo
–v,v–,vo,oo
–v,v–,vo,oo
–v,o–,oo,oo

Ein anderes Beispiel ist M. 168 (j. b. 2, fol. 160 v und T. j. 1, fol. 224 v):

v–,v–,–v,v–
v–,v–,–v,v–
v–,v–,–v,v–
v–,v–,–v,v–
v–,v–,–v,v–
v–,v–,–v,v–

En tódo lógar á podér
a Uírgen á quen quér ualér.
Seu fíllo, Déus et óm' e réy,
podér lle déu, qual uós diréy,
de fázer sémpre bén, et séy
que nón lle fál end' ó querér.

v–,vo,ov,oo
v–,vo,ov,oo
v–,vo,ov,oo
v–,vo,ov,oo
v–,vo,ov,oo
v–,vo,ov,oo

M. 146 zeigt Langverse (8+8), in welchen hin und wieder Choriambus und Dijambus wechseln. M. 283 hat in Anfang der Strophe vier achtsilbige Verse, die aus einem Choriambus und einem Dijambus bestehen; der Rest der Strophe und das Estribillo zeigen Formen, die ich nicht zu deuten vermag. M. 162 mischt Acht- und Zehnsilbner. Die Achtsilbner enthalten je zwei Choriamben. M. 171 besteht aus Langversen von der Form

v–,v–,–v,v– | v–,v–,–v,v–

Ferner finden sich Trochäen an Stelle von Jamben in M. 1, 49, 50, 68, 87, 251. M. 1 enthält Langverse (8 + 7) mit Kurzversen (7) gemischt. M. 49 werde ich weiter unten besprechen. M. 50 hat zwölfsilbige Langverse. M. 68 hat Achtsilbner. M. 87 hat Acht- und Siebensilbner. M. 251 enthält Alexandriner (6 + 6 und 7 + 6). Als Beispiel gebe ich M. 68 (j. b. 2, fol. 87 v und T. j. 1, fol. 100 v):

v–,v–,v–,v–
–v,–v,–v,v–
–v,–v,–v,v–
–v,–v,–v,v–
v–,v–,v–,v–
–v,–v,–v,v–

A Gróriósa grándes fáz
mirágres, pór dar á nos páz.
E d' ést' un míragré diréi
fremóso, qué escrít' achéi,
que féz a mádre dó gran réi,
en qué todá mesúra iáz.

o–,v–,v–,v–
–v,–v,ov,v–
ov,–o,ov,o–
ov,–o,ov,o–
o–,v–,v–,v–
–v,–v,ov,v–

M. 49 enthält Langverse, deren Erklärung zum Teil Schwierigkeiten bietet. Das Estribillo hat vermutlich folgenden Rhythmus:

v–,v–,v–,v– | –.,–v,v–,.–
v–,v–,v–,v– | –.,–v,v–,.–

Ben cóm' aós que uán per már á estréla guiá,
outróssi áos séus guiár uái Santá Maríá.

An die Stelle des Dijambus (v–v–) kann auch der Jonikus (vv––) treten, was in moderner Terminologie bedeutet, dass Sechsachteltakt und Dreivierteltakt innerhalb eines Verses wechseln können. Als Beispiel gebe ich M. 293 (j. b. 2, fol. 262 v):

vv– –,vv– – | vv– –,vv– –
vv– –,vv– – | v–v–,vv– –
vv– –,vv– – | v–v–,vv– –
vv– –,vv– – | v–v–,vv– –
vv– –,vv– – | v–v–,vv– –
vv– –,vv– – | v–v–,vv– –

Par Deus, múit' é gran deréitó de prendér múy gran
ocáión
o que cóntráfazer cúidá aquéle dé que a fáiçón.
Ca, segúnd' éscrit' achámós, Deus áa fégura dé sí
fez o ómé, et poréndé deué amár muj mais cá ssí
o om' á Déus. Et d' aquéstó, segúndo qué eu apréndí,
aueó múi gran mirágré, ondé fiz éu cobras ét són.

vv–o,vv–o | vvo–,ovoo
vv–o,vv–o | vov–,vvoo
vv–o,vv–o | vov–,vvoo
vv–o,vv–o | vov–,vvoo
vv–o,vv–o | v–v–,ovoo
vv–o,vv–o | vov–,vv–o

Interessant ist der Umstand, dass, obgleich die beiden Halbverse rhythmisch gleich sind, der erste den grammatischen Accent auf der vorletzten Silbe hat, und der zweite auf der letzten. Man würde also mit Hilfe der Silbenzählung allein zu einem völlig falschen Urteil über die metrische Gestaltung des Gedichtes kommen, und man sieht zugleich, dass hier der musikalische Rhythmus das Frühere, und die metrische Form das Spätere ist.

Sehr ähnlich ist M. 379, doch ist hier der Jonikus immer auf der vorletzten Silbe betont. M. 239 mischt Lang- und Kurzverse (8 + 8, 8 + 8, 8, 8, 8 + 8, 8 + 8), und der Jonikus zeigt, wie in M. 293, zwiefache Betonung. In M. 125 findet sich bei jambischem Ausgang Widerstreit von grammatischem und rhythmischem Accent. Das Gedicht hat sechs Verse, und die Silbenzahl ist 8 + 8. Der Jonikus trägt den Accent auf der Endsilbe:

vv– –,vv– – | vv– –,v–v–
vv– –,vv– – | vv– –,v–v–

Muit' e máyór o ben fázér da Uirgén Sánta Máriá,
que e dó démo o pódér nen d' omé máo pérfiá.

In der griechischen Metrik können zwei Jonici in den sogenannten Anaklomenos übergehen. Ich gebe als Beispiel eine Strophe Anakreons, die vier Anaklomenoi, dann einen rein jonischen Vers und dann wieder einen Anaklomenos enthält:

vv–v–v– –
vv–v–v– –
vv–v–v– –
vv–v–v– –
vv– –vv– –
vv–v–v– –

"Αγε δή, φέρ' ἡμίν, ὦ παῖ,
κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν
προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχέας
ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου
κυάθους, ὡς ἀνυβρίστως
ἀνὰ δηῦτε βασσαρήσω.

Der doppelte Jonikus wechselt mit dem Anaklomenos in M. 196 (j. b. 1, fol. 182 v):

vv–v–v– – | vv– –vv– –
vv– –vv– – | vv– –vv– –
vv–v–v– – | vv– –vv– –
vv–v–v– – | vv– –vv– –
vv–v–v– – | vv– –vv– –
vv– –vv– – | vv– –vv– –

Senpre púnnou múit' a Uírgén per u fóssé connoçúdá
dos que á nón connoclán, et sa bóndáde sabúdá.
E d' estó uos cóntar quéró un mirágré mui fremósó
que mostróu Santá Maríá por un géntíl perfiósó
que idólos áoráuá et o nómé groriósó
d' ela óír non queríá; tanto ll' ér' áuorreçúdá.

vv–vovoo | vvoovvoo
vv– –vvo– | ov– –voo–
vv–vovoo | vv– –ooo–
vv–vovoo | vv– –ooo–
vv–vovoo | vvoovvoo
vv– –vvo– | ov– –voo–

M. 166, 213, 221 und 377 haben Langverse (8 + 8), welche durchweg aus Anaklomenoi bestehen. Die letzte Silbe des Anaklomenos ist bisweilen eine Kürze.

Friedrich Hanssen.

Santiago de Chile.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. OE. *bān* 'bone,' in composition also 'leg,' ON. *bein* 'bone,' OHG., MHG. *bein* 'Knochen; Bein, Schenkel,' etc., ar from Germ. *baina-*, the primary meaning ov which was probably 'nob, club, cudgel,' 'Kolben, Keule, Schlegel:' Lat. *per-fines* 'per-fringas,' OIr. *benim* 'schlage, schneide,' OBulg. *biti* 'schlagen,' Russ. *bit'* 'schlagen,' *bilo* 'Schlegel, Klöppel,' Arm. *bir* 'grosser Stock, Knüppel, Keule' (**bitr*, Bugge, *IF.* I, 452), Gr. *φιτρός* 'the stem or stump ov a tree; block, log,' etc.

The (*leg*)*-bone* may hav taken its name either because it was used as a beetle or club or else because the bones ar commonly designated from the nobs or protuberances on them, as in ON. *knýja* 'drücken, schlagen,' MHG. *knoche* 'Astknorren; Fruchtbolle; Knochen.'

2. MLG. *bunk* 'Knochen, namentlich die hervorragenden Hüft- und Beinknochen grosser Tiere,' EFries. *bunk(e)* 'Knochen,' Du. *bonk* 'Knochen, Beinknochen; dickes, unförmliches Stück; ein plumper roher Mensch,' Pruss. *bunke* 'Bursche, Knabe; liederlicher schlechter Mensch,' *bunken* 'die starken Knochen, namentlich magerer lebender Tiere, welche stark hervorragen,' etc., NE. *bunch* 'protuberance, hunch, nob, lump; cluster, tuft,' *vb.* 'be protuberant; bring together into a bunch.'

These belong to ON. *bakke* (**bankan-*) 'Anhöhe, Uferbank, Wolkenbank,' *bekkr* 'Bank,' OS., OHG. *bank*, NE. *bank, bench*, etc., Norw. *bunka* (and *bunga*) 'kleiner Haufe, Beule:' perhaps OS. *bak*, OE. *bæc* 'back,' OHG. *bahho* 'Schinken.' The underlying idea in all ov these is 'bunch, bump, nob, etc.' A synonymus root **bhengh-* occurs in ON. *bingr* 'heap; bolster,' OHG. *bungo* 'Knolle,' MDu. *bonge* 'plug, bung ov a barrel,' NE. *bung*, Gr. *παχύς* 'thick, large, fat,' Skt. *bahú-h* 'strong, much.'

3. Norw. dial. *buna* 'Knochenröhre, Wadenbein,' 'fibula' is related neither to *bone, Bein* nor to *bunke*, as given in Fick III⁴, 257. The primary meaning ov *buna* is rather 'tube, pipe, Röhre' in reference to its small size: ON., NIcel. *buna* 'jet, shoot,' *vb.* 'gush, well,' with which compare Sloven. *bujica* 'Wildbach,' Serb. *bujica* 'Giessbach,' *bújati* 'toben,' etc. For related words see Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 98.

4. NE. *bum* 'buttocks' may represent an older **þumb* 'convexity, bulge, bump:' Icel. *bumba* 'drum; bulge (ov a cask); belly (ov a flask),' and also Norw. dial. *bembel* 'Nabel,' Lith. *bámba* 'Nabel,' *bam̃balas* 'kleine dicke Person,' *bumbulis* 'Wasserblase' (cf. Fick III⁴, 260).

Compare also NE. *bump* 'a swelling protuberance; a shock from a collision,' *vb.* 'form bumps; nock, strike, thump,' Dan. *bump* 'a thump,' ODan. *bump* 'a thick-set fellow,' *bumpet* 'thick, fat,' MHG. *pumpen* 'durch Klopfen, Stossen etc. einen dumpfen Schall verursachen.'

5. Goth. *us-baugjan* 'ausfegen' is represented in NHG.: Steir. *bocht* 'Unrat, Kehricht, Mist.'

6. Norw. *buna* 'make a din; drive,' 'poltern; antreiben,' *bynja* 'make a din, work noisily, esp. to hammer on something' may be compared with Russ. dial. *búnit'* 'hallen, dröhnen, einen dumpfen Ton von sich geben; brüllen,' Serb. *búniti* 'erregen, aufwiegeln,' erlier 'lärmen,' 'murmeln,' *b. se* 'sich empören,' *búna* 'Lärm, Tumult; Meeresbrausen; Aufruhr,' etc. Ov these Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 101, says: "Unmittelbar vergleichbares fehlt." But we may compare also OBulg. *buji* 'wild, grausam, töricht,' Serb. *bûjan* 'heftig, stürmisch,' *bújati* 'toben,' *bujica* 'Wildbach,' etc. Cf. No. 3.

7. OE. *drȳge* 'dry,' 'dry land,' *drūgian* 'become dry, dry up,' *drūgoþ* 'dryness, drout,' ON. *draugr* 'a dry log,' MDu. *drōge, drooch, druge* 'dry; thirsty; limp, weak,' OS. *drukno, drokno*, OHG. *truckan, trockan* 'trocken' represent Germ. *drūg-, draug-, drukk-*, with which compare *drūk-* in NE. dial. *drowk* 'ov plants: droop from want ov water,' *adj.* 'drooping.' 'Drooping' was the primary meaning ov *dry*, whence the various significations ov MDu. *drōge* 'trocken, dürr; schlaff, kraftlos.'

These may come from pre-Germ. **dhrūgh(n)-*, **dhrough-* 'fall, droop, sink:' Lett. *drugt* 'zusammensinken; mindern,' Bulg. *drŭglív* 'hager' (but not Lith. *drugys* 'Fieber,' Russ. *drŭžat'* 'zittern, beben,' Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 231), root **dhreu-* in Lith. *su-druniti* 'faulen,

morsch, mürbe werden,' *drovùs* 'blöde;' Lett. *drupt* 'zerfallen, bröckeln,' *draupīt* 'zerbröckeln,' OS. *drūbon* 'niedergeschlagen sein,' LG. (Flensburg) *drūf* 'schlaff;' OE. *drēopan* 'drop, drip,' ON. *driúpa* 'drip; droop,' *drúpa* 'droop, be dejected,' NE. *droop* 'sink or hang down; languish from grief or other cause; decline, be dispirited; be limp or wilted, ov plants;' OE. *drēosan* 'fall; perish,' *drēorgian* 'fall, crumble away,' *drūsian* 'become languid, sluggish,' OHG. *trūrēn* 'trauern' (cf. *MLN.* XX, 42).

8. Norw. dial. *dragen* 'damp,' Swed. dial. *drungen* 'damp, wet,' NIcel. *drungi* 'gloominess, drowsiness': Lith. *drė̃gnas* 'feucht,' *drėkinu* 'mache feucht,' *drignis* 'blöde, vom Auge,' *drangùs, druñgnas* 'lauwarm.' For meaning, compare OHG. *welk* 'feucht, milde, lau, welk.'

9. OE. *gefræppegian* 'accuse; reverence' has meanings which seem to be irreconcilable. But they may be combined under the common meaning 'bring forward,' whence 'summon before court, accuse' and 'cause to appear, make prominent, prefer.' The Germ. base *frapp-* may be from pre-Germ. **propn-* 'bring forth,' with which compare Gr. *πρέπω* (be prominent) 'appear, be plainly perceivd, be fitting, proper,' *πρεπτός* 'distinguisht, eminent, honorable.' Perhaps here also Lat. *prope* (forward, before) 'near, near at hand; nigh, toward, about, ov time,' *proprius* (being before, near to) 'belonging to, own, proper; (advancing, continuing) perpetual, constant, permanent.' For meaning compare MHG. *vürdern* 'vorwärts bringen, befördern,' *vordern* 'fordern, vor Gericht fordern.'

10. Goth. *froþs* 'klug, verständig,' ON. *fróðr* 'kundig, gelehrt,' OE. *frōd* 'wise; old,' OS. *frōd* 'erfahren, weise, alt,' OHG. *fruot* 'verständig, klug, weise, alt,' *frad* 'strenuus, efficax,' Goth. *fraþjan* 'verstehen, denken,' NHG. Lothr. *frédən*, pp. *gəfruodən* 'berühren, betasten, befühlen; fühlen, empfinden,' OE. *gefrēdan* 'be sensible ov, feel, perceiv,' etc. hav been compared with Lith. *prōtas* 'Verstand,' *prantù, pràsti* 'gewohnt werden,' *su-prantù* 'verstehe,' Lett. *prast* 'verstehen, begreifen, merken,' *prāts* 'Verstand, Sinn, Wille,' etc.

The primary meaning ov the above must hav been 'press, press forward,' whence 'tuch, feel, grasp, understand' in Lothr. *frédən* 'berühren, betasten; empfinden,' Goth. *fraþjan* 'verstehen,' etc.; 'pressing forward, advanst, experienst, expert, accustomd' in OHG. *frad* 'strenuus, efficax,' *fradalīh* 'procax,' *fruot* 'erfahren, weise, alt,' Lith. *pratìmas* 'das Verstehen, das Gewohntwerden.'

Compare **peret-* 'press (forward)' in Lat. *pressi, pressum* 'press, crowd; grasp,' *pressio* 'pressure,' *pressāre* 'press,' *prēlum* (**pretslom*) 'press-beam, wine-press, oil-press,' Skt. *pṛt-* 'Kampf, Streit,' etc. (cf. Pedersen, *IF.* v, 81), MHG. *vrat* 'zerbröckelnd; wund gerieben; abgerieben, durchtrieben,' *vrete, vrate* 'wunde Stelle, Entzündung,' *vreten* 'wund reiben, entzünden; quälen, plagen.'

11. Du. *golzen* 'gulp, swallow,' *gulzig* 'greedy, gulping,' MLG. *gulsich* 'gefrässig, gierig' ar probably derivativs ov MDu. *gole* 'an open mouth or throat,' MHG. *giel* 'Maul, Rachen, Schlund.'

12. OE. *gelostr, geolstor* 'poisonus secretion, pus, matter,' *geolstrig* 'secreting poison' come from a Germ. **gelustra-*, with which compare MDu. *gelster-, galster-achtich* 'vettig, stinkend, een onaangenamen reuk verspreidend,' 'smeary, rancid, stinking,' Du. *galsterig* 'rancid,' EFries. *galster* 'eine grünlich oder mit grünem Schimmel behaftete, verdorbene und schlecht schmekkende Stelle in dem Käse, oder eine grünlichgelbe, verdorbene und ranzig bitter und scharf schmeckende Stelle im Speck etc.,' *galst(e)rig* 'verdorben, schimmlig, ekelhaft, bitter und ranzig schmeckend; bitter, böse, unfreundlich, mürrisch; eklig, schmutzig, obszön,' *galstern* 'faulig, ranzig und bitter werden, verderben,' Pruss. *galster, gälster* 'ranzig gewordener Speck,' *galstrig, gälstrig* 'ranzig, faul, unschmackhaft, von Speck, Butter, Fett; geil, von Pflanzen, die schnell aufgeschossen.'

Franck, *Et. Wb.*[2] 174, doutfully compares Du. *galsterig* with OE. *geolstrig*, with reference to *gal* 'gall (on horses).' Weigand, *Wb.*[5], compares LRh. (ndrhein.) *gol* 'verdorben, ranzig, sauer geworden.' Koolman, *Wb. der Ofries. Spr.* I, 584, refers the words to *galle*, which he combines under the various senses.

Whether this is the correct explanation or not, *galstrig* was connected in feeling with *galle, gall,* Lat. *fel* 'gall, bile; poisonus liquid, poison.'

13. ON. *heile* 'brain' probably ment originally 'point, peak' in reference to the top of the hed, as in Lat. *cerebrum* 'brain:' Skt. *çíraḥ* 'Kopf, Spitze,' Gr. *κέρας* 'horn.' So we may compare *heile* with Lat. *cilo* 'jemand mit schmalem Kopfe und vortretender Stirne,' and also Skt. *çilā* (peak) 'Stein, Fels,' *çāila-ḥ* 'steinern,' *subst.* 'Fels, *Felsgebirge*' (*:heile* from **k'ŏilon-*), *çīra-ḥ* 'scharf:' *çiçāti, çiçītē* 'schärft, wetzt:' Av. *saēniš* 'Spitze, Wipfel;' Skt. *çikhā* 'Spitze, Haarbüschel,' *çikharā-ḥ* 'spitzig, zackig,' *subst.* 'Spitze, Gipfel, Zinne,' *çēkhara-ḥ* 'Gipfel, Scheitel; Scheitelkranz.'

14. OE. *hamm* 'inner part ov nee, ham,' ON. *hǫm,* gen. *hamar* 'Schenkel (an Tieren),' NIcel. *höm* 'haunch, buttock,' OHG. *hama, hamma,* MHG. *hamme* 'Hinterschenkel, Kniekehle,' MLG. *hame, hamme* 'Hinterschenkel, Schinken,' MDu. *hame* 'Hinterschenkel' represent Germ. *ham-* as wel as *hamm-,* and there is no good reason for supposing that the form with *-mm-* lost the gemination. For Gr. *κνήμη* 'the part ov the leg between the nee and ankle (as opposed to the thigh); the spoke ov a wheel; the leg ov a stool' is too doutful a connection, as it probably comes from an entirely different primary meaning.

The Germ. words ar applied to the curvd or bent parts ov the animal's leg. So we may compare OHG. *hamo,* MHG *hame* 'Angelhaken, Angel,' MDu. *hame* 'fish-hook,' *hamen* (hook) 'grasp, catch,' etc. This is an old explanation (cf. Lexer, *Mhd. Wb.* I, 1162 with lit.) that deservs to be revived. The *h-* in *hamo* probably comes from IE. *kh-:* Gr. *χαμός· καμπύλος* (cf. *Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe* I, 54f.).

15. LG. *hunke* 'abgenagter Knochen,' MLG. *hunke-bēn* 'die Kernkammer des Obstes; ein Schinken, von welchem das Fleisch fast ganz heruntergeschnitten ist,' Pruss. *hunkebunk* 'zur Bezeichnung eines sehr magern Menschen, eines schlechten Pferdes,' Flem. *hunke* 'hump,' NE. *hunk* 'a large lump, piece, or slice,' *hunch* 'hump, protuberance (on the back, on a camel); a thick piece, hunk, lump,' *vb.* 'round or thrust out or up in a protuberance; crook, as the back,' *hunchback* 'humpback.'

Perhaps related to the following, with the primary meaning 'bend, hump.'

16. MDu. *honc* 'hoek, schuilplaats, honk,' 'corner, nook, goal (in game),' EFries. *hunk* 'Ecke, Winkel, heimliche, verborgene Ecke, Freistätte; Stelle, Platz, Haus:' Du. *hoek* 'Ecke, Winkel, Spitze, Haken, Angel,' MLG. *hōk* 'Winkel, Ecke,' *hake* 'Haken,' OE. *hōc, haca* 'hook,' etc.: OHG. *hinkan* 'hinken,' Skt. *kháñjati* 'hinkt.'

17. OE. *gelōma* 'tool, utensil,' whence NE. *loom* 'a machine for weaving; shaft ov an oar,' probably ment 'paddle, rod, shaft, etc.,' in *loom* in reference to the weaver's rod. Compare Norw. *lōm* 'flat ov the hand,' and also *lam* 'Türeisen, Haspe mit einer Platte,' ON. *lamar* fem. pl. 'Türangel.' These last hav been compared with Lat. *lammina* 'a plate, leaf, layer' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*[2] 410).

18. MHG. *luoder* 'Lockspeise, Verlockung; Schlemmerei, lockeres Leben,' NHG. *luder* 'Lockspeise, Lockaas; Fleischfülle an Säugetieren; (durch den Geruch Tiere anziehendes) verwesendes Tierfleisch; lockres, wüstes Leben, Schlemmerei; zum besten haltendes Gespötte; durchtriebne, verlockende Weibsperson' (Weigand[5], II, 90), MDu. *loeder* 'Lockaas,' etc. ar commonly compared with *laden.*

This is altogether improbable. The word means 'fat, flabby flesh; carrion; bits ov flesh or carrion used as a lure for animals: lure, allurement; place to which an animal or a person is lured; a loose (flabby) life, etc.' The primary meaning was probably 'flap, flabbiness; flap, tatters; offal, carrion.'

Compare Russ. *láta* 'Flick, Lappen,' *látaně* 'abgetragenes Kleid, Fetzen, Lumpen' and other Slavonic words given by Berneker, *Et. Wb.* 693. Lith. *lātras* 'ein liederlicher Mensch, Trunkenbold, Umtreiber' is probably a loanword.

19. OE. *rāge-* 'spine' in *rāge-rēose* 'muscles along the spine:' MHG. *ræhe* 'steif, starr,' *rahe* 'Stange, Schiffsraa,' ON. *rá* 'Stange in einem Stangengerüst (zum Trocknen), Schiffsraa,' Norw. dial. *raaga* (**rēgōn*) 'dünne Stange,'

Lith, *rėklės* pl. 'ein Stangengerüst zum Trocknen,' MHG. *regen* 'sich erheben, emporragen; steif gestreckt sein, starren' (cf. Fick III⁴, 334f.), root **req-* 'stretch out,' whence also 'arrange, put in order, etc.': Skt. *racáyati* 'ordnet, verfertigt, bildet, bereitet, macht zurecht,' Goth. *rahnjan* 'rechnen,' etc. (cf. *IE.* a^x, 44).

20. Goth. *razn,* ON. *rann,* OE. *ærn* 'hous' ar supposed to be from the same root as Goth. *rasta* 'mile,' OE. *ræst* 'rest; resting-place.' In form and in meaning this connection is quite possible. But it is not certain. For the stem *razna-* ov the above may be compared with *rasna-* in OE. *ræsn* 'plank; ceiling.'

21. Goth. *sipōneis* '*μαθητής*, discipulus, lerner' implies a noun **sipōns* 'the act ov lerning, das Lernen' from **sipōn* 'lern.' A causativ in meaning occurs in OE. *septe* 'taught,' pret. ov **seppan* (Goth. **sapjan*), like *sette* to *settan, legde* to *lecgean.* Or *septe* may hav *ē* (Goth. **sōpida* or **sēpida*) and, in any case, be related to Lat. *per-sibus* 'very knowing, very acute' (cf. Holthausen *IF.* xxv, 147).

22. Germ. *widu-* 'tree, wood, forest' in OE. *widu, wudu* 'wood,' ON. *viðr,* OHG. *witu,* etc. is identical with Ir. *fid* 'Baum, Holz, Wald,' Welsh *guid, gwydd* 'arbusta, arbores, caules.' These ar compared with Skt. *vidhú-ḥ* 'vereinsamt,' Lith. *vidùs* 'Mitte, Inneres, Inwendiges,' and referd to the root *u̯idh-* in Lat. *dī-vido,* etc.

This connection is no dout correct. But the meanings hardly developt as usually explaind. For inasmuch as **u̯idhu-* is a derivativ ov **u̯i* 'apart,' it ment 'separated, alone' in Skt. *vidhú-ḥ;* 'separating, intervening (space), middle' in Lith. *vidùs;* and 'separating, branching' in Welsh *gwid,* Ir. *fid,* OE. *widu, wudu,* etc. For the last meaning compare Skt. *vayā́,* ChSl. *vějа* 'Zweig, Ast,' Skt. *ví* 'auseinander;' OHG. *zwīg* 'zweig:' Skt. *dvayá-ḥ* 'zweifach.'

23. Goth. *wairila* (or *-lō*) '*χεῖλος*, Lippe,' OE. *weler* (**werel*) 'lip,' OFries. *were,* ON. *vǫrr* (**warzu-*) 'Lippe' ar compared with OPruss. *warsus* 'Lippe.' These ar from bases **u̯er-, *u̯ers-* also in OE. *wearr* (**warz-*) 'callosity, wart,' Lat. *verrūca* 'wart; a steep, ruf place,' Skt. *várṣman-* 'Höhe, Oberstes, Spitze,' Lith. *virszùs* 'das Obere, die höchste Spitze,' OE. *wearte* 'wart,' MLG. *warte* 'Warze; Brustwarze,' Gr. *ἀείρω* 'raise' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*² 823, with lit.), and also Lat. *varus* 'blotch, pimple,' *varulus* 'swelling in the eye, sty.'

24. NE. *wear* represents two distinct words: OE. *werian* 'wear (clothes); clothe,' Goth. *wasjan* 'clothe,' etc.; and OE. *-weosan,* pp. *forweren, -weoren, -woren* 'decayd, worn out,' whence NE. *worn* 'wearied, exhausted, showing signs of care, illness, fatigue, etc.' In this sense it became confused with *wear* (clothes), hence the pp. *worn,* of clothes.

With OE. *forweren* compare OHG. *arweran, irweran* 'affectus, decoctus, confectus, decrepitus,' MHG. *verwesen* 'zunichte werden, vergehen, hinunterkommen; zunichte machen, verderben, aufbrauchen,' OE. *wisnian* 'dry up, wither,' *weornian* 'fade,' and the following.

25. ON., NIcel. *vesall* 'wretched, poor, miserable' (ON. *vesǽll* is a contamination with *ú-sǽll* 'unglücklich'), Norw. dial. *visall, vesall* 'small, thin, delicate, weak,' MHG. *wesel* 'schwach, matt, abgestorben,' ON. *vesligr* 'wretched,' *veslask* 'pine or waste away,' Norw. *vesla* tr. 'diminish, waste,' *veslast* intr. 'diminish,' Swed. dial. *ves, vesen* 'weak,' *vesa* 'grow weary; delay, tarry,' Norw. *veisen* 'limp, wilted; weak,' *visa* 'a weak, languid person:' ON. *visna,* OE. *wisnian,* OHG. *wesanēn* 'welken, verdorren,' etc.

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NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF POE'S POETRY: COLERIDGE, KEATS, SHELLEY

I. COLERIDGE'S *Kubla Khan*

Professor Killis Campbell[1] finds a Coleridgean influence in *The City in the Sea* of Poe. Another more distinct trace appears in *Fairy-Land,* which probably satirizes *Kubla Khan.* A recent editor of Poe observed, "This poem comes very near to being meaningless." Except as satire, portions are wholly meaningless.

[1] *The Nation,* LXXXVIII, 248.

In Coleridge's poem are a mysterious shadowy flood, a vale [or chasm], a hill side, and the association of enchantment with the waning moon. The flood is familiar. The other elements appear in these lines:

> But oh! that deep romantic chasm which slanted
> Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!
> A savage place! as holy and enchanted
> As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted.

Fairy-Land of Poe opens with

> Dim vales—and shadowy floods.

Farther on appears the moon, reduplicated:

> Huge moons there wax and wane

Then a moon sets behind a mountain peak, and the world is immediately plunged into a deeper sleep:

> About twelve by the moon-dial
> One more filmy than the rest
> (A kind which, upon trial,
> They have found to be the best)
> Comes down.

The description of the setting moon which follows, and the sleep charm, are serious, and appear to be carefully written, as are the opening lines of the poem. The satirical lines in this portion appear sporadically. The remainder of the poem, which we may call the second part, is mostly extravaganza, in which appears an albatross [Coleridge's?], in this case a yellow one:

> In the morning they arise,
> And their moony covering
> Is soaring in the skies
> With the tempests as they toss,
> Like—almost anything—
> Or a yellow albatross.
> They use that moon no more
> For the same end as before—
> Videlicet a tent—
> Which I think extravagant.

In an 1831 edition this poem is serious. It opens with a love scene, introduces the setting of the moon, and closes without the extravaganza, which we have called the second part, about rising next morning. The love scene is inferior poetry. Is it possible that Poe, displeased with it, and perhaps impatient of revision, simply lopped it off, and turned the poem into burlesque, by inserting burlesque lines into the part he retained and adding an almost purely burlesque termination of eighteen lines, our second part? Or was it simply the Imp of the Perverse at work?

Al Aaraaf earlier exhibited familiarity with *Kubla Khan*. Cf. Coleridge's "Dome in air" and Poe's

> A dome, by linked light from Heaven let down
> (l. 178)

II. Keats' *Endymion*

Endymion is concerned with a moon myth, and uses classical and Indian scenes, profuse description of flowery meads, interspersed lyrics of shorter line, and the phrases and compound words commonly associated with Keats by critics (*far-spooming, honied dew,* and the like).

Al Aaraaf, though specifically about a star, is permeated with moon-mania,[2] and introduces a lady, who kneels in a bed of lilies like those of "Capo Deucato," which hung upon the footsteps (Cf. *Endymion*)

> Of her who loved a mortal—and so died.

The flower (note the diction) Sephalica, "budding with young bees," raised its purple stem. There is also a "gemmy flower of Trebizond misnamed," whose "honied dew" (this might have come from Coleridge, from whom Keats had it) was "deliriously sweet." There was also a Clytia, a flower adown whose petals flow "pettish tears." There is also a "Valisnerian lotus." Elsewhere in the poem occur *single-mooned eve, Therasæan reign, unburthen'd air, nursled, besilvering, moss-y-mantled.*

Finally there is an Indian cupid, the introduction of whom leads into a lyric in shorter lines, which suggests the lyrics interspersed in the Indian Book IV of *Endymion.*

III. Shelley and Poe

Poe's *Conqueror Worm,* with its drama of death, and the dissolution of the gorgeous scene

[2] Cf. ll. 144, 153, 164, 168, 308–309.

as the worm appears, may have been suggested by the Richmond theater fire, as sometimes supposed. But compare Shelley's *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills.* The fisherman of the future, passing the fallen Venice, will fear lest the dead should

> Lead a rapid masque of death
> O'er the waters of his path.

Those who see the towers,

> As I now behold them here,
> Would imagine not they were
> Sepulchres, where human forms,
> Like pollution-nourished worms
> To the corpse of greatness cling.
> (ll. 140–148)

There is also a point of close similarity between this poem and the *Annabel Lee* and the *Tamerlane* of Poe. The central idea of *Annabel Lee* is the angels' envy of too great happiness. Compare this and the lines in *Tamerlane* (strophe 9),

> Love—as in infancy was mine—
> 'Twas such as angel minds above
> Might envy.

with Shelley's

> We may live so happy there,
> That the spirits of the air,
> Envying us, may even entice
> To our healing paradise
> The polluting multitude. (ll. 442–446)

Again, compare Poe's *Raven* as a whole, but especially the line

> For the rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore

with this from Shelley's *Cloud:*

> That orbèd maiden with white fire laden,
> Whom mortals call the moon,
> Glides glimmering o'er my fleece-like floor,
> By the midnight breezes strewn:
> And wherever the beat of her unseen feet,
> Which only the angels hear,
> May have broken the woof of my tent's thin roof,
> The stars peep behind her and peer.

Compare also, on the score of meter, the following from *Prometheus Unbound* (Act II, End of Sc. iv) with a strophe of *Ulalume,* noting the haunting rime between lines four and five, so similar to the echo effect of Poe's verse:

> My coursers are fed with the lightning,
> They drink of the whirlwind's stream,
> And when the red morning is brightening
> They bathe in the fresh sunbeam;
> They have strength for their swiftness I deem,
> Then ascend with me daughter of Ocean.
>
> I desire: and their speed makes night kindle;
> I fear: they outstrip the Typhoon;
> Ere the cloud piled on Atlas can dwindle
> We encircle the earth and the moon:
> We shall rest from long labors at noon:
> Then ascend with me daughter of Ocean.

Ulalume:

> And I said—She is warmer than Dian:
> She rolls through an ether of sighs—
> She revels in a region of sighs:
> She has seen that the tears are not dry on
> These cheeks, where the worm never dies
> And has come past the stars of the Lion
> To point us the path to the skies—
> To the Lethean peace of the skies—
> Come up, in despite of the Lion,
> To shine on us with her bright eyes—
> Come up through the lair of the Lion,
> With love in her luminous eyes.

May it not be further significant that in the next act of the play we find *nepenthe,* the unusual word so effectively used in the *Raven?*

At the time of the poems cited, Poe's borrowings from Shelley were tempered by mature judgment. Earlier, in the youthful *Al Aaraaf,* there is—together with the mannerisms of Keats—a suggestion of a more extravagant imitation of Shelley, especially of *Prometheus Unbound.* In *Al Aaraaf,* as in the play, are supernatural imagery, the clear inane of interstellar space, and the wild careers of mythical beings who tread no ordinary earth. There are also the same strained figures, such as (l. 129),

> Ideal things
> Flap shadowy sounds from visionary wings

and the figure of the "Idea of Beauty" (ll. 32–34),

> Falling in wreaths thro' many a startled star,
> Like woman's hair 'mid pearls, until, afar,
> It lit on hills Achaian, and there dwelt.

There is also another interesting reason for associating *Al Aaraaf* with Shelley. In later critical writing,[3] Poe gave emphatic warning against the nebulous sort of vagueness which reading Shelley breeds in young persons, especially, he specified, the reading of *Prometheus Unbound*. Was he thinking of his own youthful experience? And was the wild incoherence of *Al Aaraaf*, which so puzzles critics, but a species of Shelley hypnotism that affected the susceptible youth? Certainly on this ground *Al Aaraaf* is explicable. And it has never been satisfactorily explained on any other ground.

It would seem, therefore, that Poe has closer relations to the earlier poetic romanticists of England than is commonly supposed. It would, though, be hazardous to class him with them. There still remains too large an unexplained residuum in Poe's poetry.

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ANOTHER STUDY OF SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE

The recent appearance of the last volume of the First Folio edition of Shakespeare (Charlotte Porter, principal editor) calls attention to one feature of this edition which is of peculiar interest and which, because it is scattered through the notes of the various volumes, may easily escape notice. This feature is the detailed study of the plays as to their staging in the Elizabethan theater.

Miss Porter assumes that the Globe theater had a stage essentially like that shown on the Messalina title page (*A. and C.* 173) with the added assumption of an alcove stage *behind* the rear stage (*Much Ado*, 129; *A. Y. L.* 171; *R. and J.* 147) though this is, I take it, only another way of referring to the tiring room. She especially emphasizes the side stages—the spaces leading to the doors on either side the projecting rear stage. Of these Miss Porter makes much use: to stage asides which then really cease to be such (*A. C.* 176; *Cym.* 160; 194; 198; *O.* 238); to "simulate places a little distance apart" (*M. for M.* 131; *A. C.* 174); for concealment and observation (*A. C.* 174; *O.* 238; *III H. VI.* 138; *H. VIII.* 174); and for the "trees" of which more presently. This recognition of the side stages also leads to a greater emphasis than has usually been placed on the outer doors to the front stage. In the notes of a large number of plays the significance of these is carefully pointed out (e.g., *O.* or *W. T.*): how it is established in the auditor's mind and how it is changed as the play progresses. The use of sign boards is so far as I have observed neither suggested nor discussed. This emphasis on the location of scenes has in turn led the editor to make much of what she calls "travel," "journeying" or "sceneshifting" scenes, in which Shakespeare carefully led his audience to change the scene, and hence the significance of various parts of the stage and of the doors. (*T. of S.* III, 2; *A. C.* II, 3, 4; III, 1, 2; *Troilus* IV, 4; *Cym.* IV, 3; V, 5; *O*, I, 1; etc.) So important does the editor consider this that she even makes it a basis for act division (*Timon*, 125; *Troilus* 197; *M. for M.* 155). In this recognition of a real problem and this attempt to solve it the First Folio edition has made perhaps its greatest contribution to the study of Elizabethan staging.

Other interesting points are suggested. Miss Porter is not adverse to conjecturing many properties not previously accepted by students. (The incline; *A. and C.* 176, 178; the molehill, *III H.* VI, 144; *II H.* VI, 196; curtains for mists, *Tempest* 171; a fountain, *M. for M.* 134; a wicket gate, *W. T.* 135; bow of a vessel,

[3] 1844. See Harrison, XI, 255; XII, 32; and XVI, 148. The reference to Prometheus appeared in 1845. Four years later a portion of this article was revised and reprinted, and for Prometheus was substituted *Alastor*.

O. 236.) An interesting but I fear unwarranted use of the balcony occurs in *R. and J.* 228, where Romeo enters the rear stage vault, it is suggested, through a trap door in the upper stage; and another in *H. V.* 222, where the French army is supposed to gather there as "on yonder hill." This willingness to accept new and somewhat extraordinary things is especially noticeable as regards the garden, orchard, wood, forest setting—a combination of trees, hedges, etc., which is referred to in so many plays under one name or another that Miss Porter assumes it to have remained as a permanent setting near one of the stage doors. That it is conceived of as made up of small trees appears from *Much Ado* 144, and *R. and J.* 230. Almost any one of these cases by itself is so weak as nearly to appear ludicrous, but when one takes account of all of them and of the evidence of other Elizabethan plays the evidence seems unshakeable. Perhaps this setting was not always left on the stage, but if it were really used under all these various aliases it was certainly of very common occurrence and becomes of the greatest importance.

For as soon as the existence of a "tree-setting" is admitted few Elizabethan plays can be staged with any sort of regard for modern picture-stage methods; one is inevitably forced into the opinion that the Elizabethan stage was fundamentally "incongruous," medieval, plastic. Miss Porter does not dodge this conclusion; most of the plays, since each introduces indoor scenes, become in consequence "incongruous." Indeed Miss Porter goes so far as to suppose trees on the stage of *Pericles* when the front stage represents the deck of a ship and the stage its cabin (165).

In view of this the scrupulous employment of the rear stage even when two or three stools are used (*A. C.* 177; *Cor.* 147) is rather amazing. Probably the reason lies in the assumption that all interiors were staged in the "little curtained-off compartment"; all large exteriors in front (*T. N.* 154). Properties are sometimes allowed on the front stage (*O.* 236; *M. for M.* 184) but it is considered necessary to explain that each is in the last act. "Thrones" are placed in the rear stage (*III H.* VI, 141; *H. VIII.* 153) as are banquet scenes (*H. VIII.* 158).

One use of the rear stage to which the editor calls attention is interesting and convincing, and though not new is worked out more fully than by previous writers. It is the employment of the rear stage, especially the great central entrance in its back wall, as the gate to a city (*III. H. VI.* 169), the front of a house (*Troilus* 194) and the Monument (*A. and C.* 177). In these cases the rear stage, it is assumed, "was denuded of curtains so as to show bare walls and the double portal barred at the back of the stage" (*A. and C.* 177). From the note, *Cor.* 148, one concludes that the reference is not to the removal of the stage curtains but rather of the inner hangings, for a certain short conversation (I, 4) is considered long enough to allow the stripping of the rear stage, presumably concealed, and *I. H.* VI, 142 seems to imply that the balcony was arranged "at the top like a battlemented 'turret top.'" Are we to understand some sort of scenery?

The principal objections which appear against the views presented in this edition are these: the projecting rear stage enclosed on three sides hardly seems practicable for a theater such as the Globe; the insistence on the use of the rear stage for all interiors is illogical and unfounded in view of the innumerable "clashes" which then occur, especially in non-Shakespearean plays, and the acceptance by Miss Porter of the medieval staging in other particulars. But neither objection diminishes the interest of her conclusions nor the general value of her suggestions. The First Folio study of the staging of Shakespeare amounts, both in the space devoted to it and in its real value, to a very considerable contribution to the subject.

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THE IDENTITY OF SOMAIZE *

II

1. Concerning the number [1] and the style of Sorel's works, little need be said. Larroumet admits that Somaize's *Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron* has some good passages.[2] Occasionally, Sorel deviates into ease and grace of expression. But as a rule his style is humdrum and lacks distinction. This cannot be said of many authors of the seventeenth century. Furetière maliciously explains how poor a poet Charroselles (*i. e.*, Sorel) was.[3] Sorel himself, indeed, makes light of the ability to write well, and considers it such a minor merit that he does not allow it to worry him at all.[4]

2. The pamphleteering career of Charles Sorel is fairly well known. The number of his *loteries, jeux, portraits, relations, chroniques, descriptions* is large and has been given in detail by Mr. Roy.

3. As a past master in the fabrication of literary hoaxes, Sorel has had few equals. His construction of his own family-tree, as described by Mr. Roy, is a most ingenious fraud. The trouble taken by him to foist *Francion* on Nicolas de Moulinet [5] was worthy of a better cause. Even after nearly everybody was aware that he had been responsible for that popular novel, and after his friend, Guy Patin, had stated explicitly that he was the author of it, and after Furetière had made the fact public, Sorel persisted in denying the attribution [6]—and in speaking fondly of the sixty editions through which *Francion* had passed at home and abroad. In a spirit of mock resignation, while acknowledging the authorship of a long list of anonymous works, he warns readers against ascribing unworthy books to him,[7] and begs them to remember his important efforts in such serious subjects as history, philosophy, and science. His use of pseudonyms for purposes of mystification has already been commented on. His sly addition of hypocritical moralizing at the end of each licentious chapter in *Francion* may have been made with the object of silencing some of his church friends, for he was a good church man, and must have deplored the presentation of Molière's *Tartuffe*. In a similar manner, he disclaims all intentions of satirizing persons,[8] yet has made a laughing-stock of Balzac as Hortensius, of Malherbe as "le grand sophi" of poets, of the absent-minded stutterer, Racan, of the impudent Boisrobert.

As for the devices and resources of literary men, he knows them all. Far be it from him, to be sure!—but there *are* authors who write letters in excessive praise of their own works, and publish them under the name of a friend.[9] Strangely enough, this is precisely what occurred at the publication of Somaize's *Dictionnaire*.[10] Later, Furetière, who lived next door to Sorel and had known him intimately, obliges Charroselles (Sorel) to declare:

> Je puis dire ici entre nous que je l'ay pratiqué avec assez de succès, et que sous un nom emprunté de commentateur de mon propre ouvrage, je me suis donné de l'encens tout mon soul.[11]

4. Sorel had many interests and many ideas. His *Science universelle* (1641) shows his wide range of thought, if not of originality. His novels are clumsy examples of the early application of scientific discoveries and conjectures—in telegraphy,[12] astronomy, physiology, mechanics—to fiction. But what dominated his mind was an overwhelming zeal for language, for literature, for words. Lexicographers like Littré have done Sorel ample justice from this point of view by quoting him constantly on the significance of old French words and idioms. When he states that in *Francion* "on pourra

* Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, pp. 333-36.

[1] Cf. Roy, *Charles Sorel*, appendix.

[2] Larroumet, *Ét. litt.*, p. 18.

[3] Furetière, *Rom. bourg.*, pp. 250–251.

[4] Cf. *Francion*, pp. 417–419.

[5] Cf. Mr. Roy's careful analysis in *Ch. Sorel*, pp. 431–432.

[6] Sorel, *Bib. fr.*, p. 356. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 368–369.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[9] *Francion*, p. 173.

[10] Cf. *Case of Somaize*, p. 34.

[11] Furetière, *Rom. bourg.*, pp. 136–137.

[12] Cf. Koerting, *Gesch. des fr. Rom.*, II, p. 114, n. 1.

trouver la langue française tout entière, et que je n'ai point oublié les mots dont use le vulgaire," [13] he is scarcely exaggerating. And his affection for his mother-tongue passes the bounds of mere erudite curiosity. As there was but one supreme city in the world for him, namely, Paris,[14] so there was but one supreme language for him, namely, French—the good, old, common, every-day French of his *bourgeois* childhood.

That is the secret of his life-long animosity toward the *précieux* and the *précieuses*. That is why he ridicules, attacks—and imitates them. Often, his imitation seems sincere enough. He was not averse to deriving pecuniary advantages from the fad. But that he never believed in it and always scorned it is the final impression one obtains from his works. Sentimentally, he is of the *bon vieux temps* of Marot: and the French language is with him a sentiment. Very early he seems to have become cognizant of an insidious, internal warfare against his mother-tongue, and very promptly he came to its defence. Practically everything that he wrote—*Francion, le Berger extravagant, Polyandre, la Connoissance des bons livres, la Bibliothèque françoise,* and his shorter writings—became weapons against the invaders.

If, consequently, the proof attempted in this paper shall appear satisfactory, it will no longer be necessary to entertain doubts as to Somaize's attitude toward *préciosité*. It can have been at bottom none other than a sarcastic and a hostile attitude.

A complete list of Sorel's *précieux* works need not be given here. It may be found in Mr. Roy's biography of Sorel,[15] and in the latter's *Bibliothèque françoise* and *la Connoissance des bons Livres*. The titles of a few of them may, however, be of interest: *Les Lois de la Galanterie, Récit mémorable du siège de la ville de Pectus par le Prince Rhuma, Le Véritable Récit du siège de Beauté, Description de l'Isle de la Portraiture, La Lotterie d'Amour, Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la Nouvelle Découverte du Royaume de Frisquemore.*

5. As the friend, enemy, or acquaintance of the principal Academicians, of Furetière, of Boisrobert, of Guy Patin, and other people of note, and as the historiographer of the King, Sorel had plenty of opportunities for coming in contact with the *précieux* and *précieuses*. That he put such companionship to practical use may be inferred from Furetière's venomous observation.[16] Nobody was more likely than Sorel to have accumulated a mass of notes on *préciosité* and the *précieux*, and nobody was in a better position for doing so.

Not the least striking detail in Sorel's acquaintanceship with the *précieuses* is his agreement with Somaize's published facts and his knowledge of those whom Somaize knew. Time and again, Mr. Roy cites Somaize to identify Sorel's friends. Thus, Sorel's neighbor, Mme du Buisson, the rival of Sapho, is Somaize's Damophile.[17] Sorel's Angélique is Somaize's Angélique Petit.[18] Of the *belles-filles* of Mme Cornuel, Sorel speaks of one as a younger sister and of the other as a niece. Somaize calls them both her *filles*,[19] but it was the custom to use the same term of relationship for them. Aesculan, Néophile, and the fickle lady of their thoughts in Sorel's *Polyandre* are the *surintendant* Emery, his son the president of Toré, and his future daughter-in-law, Geneviève Le Cogneux. The latter figures in Somaize's *Dictionnaire*,[20] as does also Sorel's Mlle D. L. or Mlle de Lauvergne.[21] Sorel, in speaking of

[13] *Francion*, p. 360.
[14] Roy, *Charles Sorel*, pp. 72–73.
[15] Roy, *Ch. Sorel*, pp. 409–410.

[16] *Rom. Bourg.*, p. 237. "—Charroselles (Sorel) homme d'estude, monta en son cabinet, où la première chose qu'il fit, ce fut son examen de conscience de bons mots, ainsi qu'il avoit accoustumé. C'est à dire qu'il faisoit un recueil où il mettoit par escrit tous les beaux traits et toutes les choses remarquables qu'il avoit oüyes pendant le jour dans les compagnies où il s'étoit rencontré. Apres cela il en faisoit bien son profit, car par fois il se les attribuoit et en compiloit des ouvrages entiers; par fois il les alloit debiter ailleurs comme venant de son crû."
[17] Cf. Roy, *Ch. Sorel*, pp. 236–237.
[18] *Ibid.*, same citation.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 188–189.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 238–239.

Mlle Le Vieux calls her Uriane: Somaize, in his *Dictionnaire,* calls her Urione.[22]

In addition to the above, it would be possible to cite a large number of *précieux* expressions used by both Sorel and Somaize,—and in many cases used *first* by Sorel. Ordinarily speaking, this fact might appear unimportant, for words once published are the property of anybody. It has, nevertheless, some bearing in the present instance, since by far the most thorough student of Sorel—to whom the connection between the two men which I am attempting to establish has evidently not occurred —constantly quotes Somaize's locutions in corroboration of Sorel's. Sorel's *font figure dans le monde,* for example, has a place in Somaize's *Dictionnaire;*[23] and Sorel's *les peintres parlants,* employed as early as 1628 in Sorel's *Le Berger extravagant,* reappears in 1661 in Somaize.

Finally, there is a striking parallelism in Sorel's and Somaize's conception of one phase of *préciosité.* Both have seen the analogy between *précieux* expressions and the *argot* of the common people and of thieves and other malefactors. The two latter classes employed picturesque slang, as they do in Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris,* for the purpose of being able to speak in French without running the risk of having their conversation understood by French bystanders. The common people used it, as they do to-day, always have done, and always will do, because it is a short-cut and a source of humor. As Mr. Roy states, the resemblance "était frappante entre les deux jargons, tour à tour poétiques ou grossiers à plaisir."[24] Few persons besides Sorel and Somaize have noticed this instructive similarity.

6. Sorel's hostility toward Molière has been mentioned by several writers.[25] His *Bibliothèque françoise,* which is by no means as unimportant a history of contemporary French literature as the lack of reference to it would seem to indicate, systematically makes short shrift of the incomparable playwright. In one place, Sorel mentions Molière last in a brief account of authors of the same name: "On ne doit prendre aussi, *le sieur de Molière* qui a fait en François *un Dictionnaire Historique & Poetique,* pour celuy qui a fait *le Roman de Polixène,* ny pour celuy qui a fait *la Comédie de l'Eschole des Femmes.*"[26] As Mr. Roy remarks, it is a wonder that he does not warn his readers against confusing the comedian with Molière the dancer and with the sieur de Moulère, an obscure Gascon writer.[27] In another place, he makes a bare mention of some of Molière's plays, omitting the *Précieuses ridicules.*[28]

The causes of Sorel's enmity are not far to seek. Molière's bare-faced plagiarism from Sorel's works, as demonstrated at length by Mr. Roy and indicated by Koerting,[29] were well calculated to make the author of *Francion, Le Berger extravagant,* and *Les Lois de la Galanterie* smart: and it is not without significance that the public attacks on Molière by Somaize began immediately after the appearance of the *Précieuses ridicules*—a play which is nothing but a clever mosaic, in so far as its subject-matter is concerned, from previous writings by Sorel. Undoubtedly, also, a strong feeling of envy entered into Sorel's reflections, and induced him to make that complaint[30] about the relative profits of ordinary writers and of dramatists which Furetière possibly had in mind when he charged Sorel with ruining his book-sellers. It may be, too, that Molière, outside of his plays, ridiculed Sorel's pretentions to nobility, as he is supposed to have done in 1662 in *l'École des Femmes* when satirizing M. de l'Isle.[31]

7. Sorel was the life-long enemy of Boisrobert, if we may judge from his published remarks. According to all the students of *Francion,* the character of Mélibée in that

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 238.
[23] Roy, *Ch. Sorel,* p. 286.
[24] *Ibid.,* pp. 323–324.
[25] Cf. Niceron, *Mémoires,* etc., Paris, MDCCXXXV, article on Sorel.
[26] Sorel, *Bib. fr.,* p. 245.
[27] Roy, *Ch. Sorel,* pp. 373–374.
[28] Sorel, *Bib. fr.,* p. 188.
[29] Koerting, *Gesch. des fr. Rom.,* II, pp. 98–99.
[30] Sorel, *Bib. fr.,* p. 189.
[31] Cf. Furetière, *Rom. Bourg.,* p. 219, n. 1.

novel stands for Boisrobert: and Mélibée is an impudent rascal, a pimp, and a swindler.[32] Boisrobert, in his capacity as the official defender of Balzac,[33] must have had heated disputes with Balzac's most caustic opponent. Somaize, it will be remembered, speaks in no complimentary terms of the abbé. Whatever other reasons Sorel may have had for disliking Boisrobert, he had at least one justifiable reason, namely, plagiarism of his ideas and literary inventions.[34]

8. Toward Balzac, Sorel felt the same instinctive antagonism that he felt toward the *précieuses.* His Hortensius is an unflagging caricature of the grand master of eloquence, and Furetière informs us that Sorel took the very words out of the mouth of Balzac and put them into the mouth of the pedant Hortensius, turning them into ridicule.[35]

9. *Francion,* first published in 1622, is already full of squibs against the *précieux* method of speech. The list drawn up by Francion is of the purest *préciosité:* "très-indubitablement, ils allarent, ils parlarent, vous avez bien de la propreté, vous êtes fort admirable, vous vous piquez de jouer du luth et de faire l'amour, vous avez tout plein d'habitudes chez les ministres des affaires de l'État, vous êtes dans le grand commerce du monde, vous êtes un homme d'intrigues . . ." [36] The discourse of Hortensius to his mistress [37] is not outdone by Mascarille. Mr. Roy is entirely correct in the declaration given below.[38]

10. Probably no writer of the seventeenth century was guilty of greater or more persistent coarseness of language than Sorel in his *Francion,* and probably no French author ever surpassed his absolute vulgarity in works still read, excepting Diderot. Quotation is unnecessary. It is not surprising that Sorel to his dying day denied the authorship of the book. The point is of some import here, because Sorel and Somaize give identical excuses for their smut.[39]

11. The discussion of simplified spelling in *Francion* is interesting, not only because it coincides with Somaize's ideas, but also because of its applicability at the present day.[40]

12. Sorel's true vocation was compiling and classifying. *Francion, le Berger extravagant, la Bibliothèque françoise, la Science universelle* are nothing but catalogs of customs, manners, books, and facts thrown into narrative form. His *jeux, lois, descriptions* are nothing else.

13. The part played by Ballesdens in aiding in the publication of Somaize's *Dictionnaire* is so vital that any evidence showing friendship between Sorel and the bibliophile-Academician cannot but strengthen the argument concerning the identity of Somaize. The recommendation given by Ballesdens to Somaize [41] would not have been accorded a mere acquaintance, since it meant the possibility of stirring up a hornets' nest and of subsequent defence. That Sorel and the Academician were on such terms as to make it natural for the latter to lend his name to a rather misleading statement of the tenor of the book may be judged from the fact that "Sorel était très lié avec les académiciens Balesdens et Serisay, comme il le dit dans sa *Bibliothèque française,* de 1664, p. 244." [42]

14. Is Somaize's boast that he caused the Académie to assemble two or three times of

[33] *Francion,* pp. 200–201.

[33] Roy, *Ch. Sorel,* p. 87.

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 101.

[35] Furetière, *Nouvelle Allég.,* p. 174.

[36] *Francion,* p. 212.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 136. Cf. also p. 209.

[38] Roy, *Ch. Sorel,* p. 309. "Si on a la curiosité de vérifier ses assertions, non-seulement on verra les prosateurs *du commencement du XVIIe. siècle* dépasser en hardiesse les poètes qui les suivent, mais on trouvera chez eux, et à la lettre, soit les passages critiqués par Molière à diverses dates, soit les expressions mêmes de la pièce des *Précieuses.*"

[39] Cf. Somaize, *Vérit. Prét.,* ed. Lacroix, notice, p. viii; Sorel, *Bib. fr.,* p. 174.

[40] Sorel, *Francion,* pp. 176–177; cf. "Aussi, parce qu'il n'est pas si facile de prononcer de telle sorte les mots, que toutes leurs lettres servent, que d'ôter ces mêmes lettres inutiles, il est expédient de les retrancher. En pas une langue vous ne voyez de semblables licences, et, quand il y en auroit, les mauvais exemples ne doivent pas être suivis plus que la raison. Considérez que la langue latine même, dont, à la vérité, la plupart de la nôtre a tiré son origine, n'a pas une lettre qui ne lui serve."

[41] Cf. *Case of Somaize,* p. 38.

[42] Roy, *Ch. Sorel,* p. 153.

any moment? It may be a mere jest. Nevertheless, it is curious that Charles Sorel should have done just that very thing. According to Furetière, Sorel "acquit tant de crédit qu'il s'étoit rendu formidable, même aux quarante Barons."[43] The two occasions on which he accomplished this feat were the publication of his *Rôle des présentations françoises faites aux grands jours de l'éloquence françoise* (1646), and of his *Discours sur l'Académie françoise, établie pour la correction et l'embellissement du langage, pour sçavoir si elle est de quelque utilité aux particuliers et au public* (1654).[44] In addition, he had waged war on Pellisson's *Histoire de l'Académie*.[45]

From the investigations of Livet, Larroumet, and others, it appears that nobody took notice of Somaize's work or knew the author. Chapelain, it is true, must have exhibited some interest in these writings, for the catalog of his library arranged by Mr. Searles[46] shows that he possessed a copy of the *Grand Dictionnaire historique des Prétieuses*. Nevertheless, neither Chapelain nor any other seventeenth century writer, so far as I have been able to find out in a varied and extensive course of reading, mentions Somaize or his books—excepting Charles Sorel. Is not this fact significant? Not satisfied with transcribing several pages of Somaize's *Dictionnaire* in his *Connoissance des bons livres*,[47] Sorel proceeds to abuse his compeer, whose "'insolence horrible' allait 'jusqu'à publier le nom et l'âge des dames.'"[48] This abuse, of course, if Sorel really wrote the *Dictionnaire*, would be quite in keeping with the rest of the game, and need not be taken seriously. But Sorel goes further than this. He seems to have the same affection for the *Dictionnaire des Précieuses* as for *Francion*, which he mentions and disowns. In the first part of his *Bibliothèque françoise*, when dealing with the *romans comiques*, he observes, "Il y a aussi *le Dictionnaire du Langage des Prétieuses & leur Dictionnaire Historique*, avec leur Comédie en Prose."[49] Why he should have listed those works with the novels would prove perplexing if Somaize had not already said that his only reason for not turning his material into a novel lay in the fact that he was dealing with nearly 700 characters. It is plain that Sorel and Somaize agree perfectly in their views on the *Dictionnaire*. What is still more interesting, however, is that Sorel includes the *Dictionnaire* in his own *list of the works attributed to himself*. "Il y a en quelques autres lieux plusieurs Pièces faites à l'imitation des premières; on a fait une *Lotterie d'Amour*, on a fait un *Dictionnaire du langage précieux*, & l'invention de cela est dans un certain Catalogue de Livres plaisans pour les Benefices de la Lotterie."[50] Now, as the *Lotterie d'Amour* is generally conceded to be his, it is fair to assume that the *Dictionnaire* is also his; and at any rate, he includes both in a catalog of books which are certainly his, such as *L'Orphize de Chrysante*, the *Suite de la Polixène*, the *Berger extravagant*, the *Maison des Jeux*, the *Description de l'Isle de la Portraiture*.[51]

That Sorel actually had it in mind, shortly before 1660, to compile a *Dictionnaire des Précieuses* is a known fact, because he indicates it unmistakably in his own words, and outlines both parts in exactly the form in which they were published over Somaize's name. ". . . en 1658 il (Sorel) publie une Loterie, contenant entr'autres lots burlesques les livres suivants: *La Chronique des Précieuses, qui raconte leur origine, et ce qu'elles ont fait de mémorable depuis leur établissement.—Les Précieuses maximes des Précieuses, et les Lois qu'elles observent selon leur institution.—Le Dictionnaire des Précieuses, où le langage vulgaire français est d'un côté de chaque page, et le langage précieux de l'autre.*"[52]

[43] Furetière, *Nouvelle Allég.*, pp. 45–46.
[44] Cf. *Francion*, avant-propos, p. 8.
[45] Cf. Guy Patin, *Lettres*, etc., I, p. 314.
[46] C. Searles, *Catalogue de tous les livres de feu M. Chapelain*, Stanford Univ., 1912, p. 47.
[47] Cf. Roy, *Ch. Sorel*, p. 287.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 280–281.
[49] Sorel, *Bib. fr.*, p. 171.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 360.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 349–363.
[52] Roy, *Ch. Sorel*, pp. 280–281.

The supposition that another man by the name of Somaize forestalled Sorel in the actual writing of this book is hardly tenable. The time which elapsed between 1658 and April 12, 1660—the date of appearance of the first part of the *Dictionnaire*—was too short to admit of the collecting of a large mass of notes dealing with over 600 *précieux* and *précieuses*. Besides, the historical documentation of the *Dictionnaire* is conclusive evidence that the material was gathered bit by bit during nearly a life-time. To one acquainted with Sorel's methods, it is practically certain that when he announced his project of a *Dictionnaire des Précieuses,* he had the subject-matter ready for production. The theory that Somaize might have stolen Sorel's notes must, if entertained at all, be discarded in view of Sorel's constantly kindly attitude toward Somaize and his *Dictionnaire.*

The facts given above seem to the writer sufficient to establish Sorel as the originator of Somaize. If his exposition is accepted as correct, another minor puzzle is probably solved. Mr. Roy, in discussing Sorel's interest in *précieux* "almanachs," has had to make a rather unsatisfactory conjecture concerning a certain *Almanach des Précieuses,* "qui a dû *suivre de près la pièce de Molière, et qu'on n'a encore pu retrouver.*" [53] Is it not possible that this *Almanach des Précieuses* and the *Dictionnaire des Précieuses* are one and the same thing?

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[53] Cf. Roy, *Ch. Sorel,* p. 260: "Le *Recueil* de Sercy de 1658 contient deux almanachs du même genre, décrits par M. Livet dans son édition de Somaize, tome II, p. 277. Sorel en fit lui-même une troisième, *Oeuvres diverses,* p. 349; il reprenait son bien.—Dans le ballet de la *Déroute des précieuses,* cité plus loin, il est question d'un *Almanach des Précieuses* qui a dû suivre de près la pièce de Molière, et qu'on n'a encore pu retrouver. C'est probablement le même que Sorel désigne sous le nom d'*Almanach des Coquettes* (*Bibliothèque française,* de 1664, p. 170)."

VARIATION IN THE OLD HIGH GERMAN POST-OTFRIDIAN POEMS [1]

II. Das Ludwigslied

The peculiar discrepancy in the subject matter and geographical location of the *Ludwigslied* (MSD 11) as compared with its Rhine Franconian dialect has caused considerable uncertainty in regard to the personality of its author. In any event the direct influence of Otfrid is not to be denied. In common with the other post-Otfridian poems of the Old High German period, the *Ludwigslied* lacks the polish and stylistic accuracy of the *Evangelienbuch* itself. As compared however with the Christus fragment it stands on a considerably higher literary plane—a fact which the analysis of its variation clearly shows. I insert here an outline of the various variations contained in the poem, numbering each for convenience in future reference: (1) Ll. 1, kuning-Hludwîg. (2) Ll. 3b–4a–4b–5, 6a. (3) Ll. 5, dugidi-githigini. (4) Ll. 7b–8a. (5) Ll. 10, arbeidi–11–12. (6) Ll. 13–18 (group var., diagrammed below). (7) Ll. 19a–19b–20a. (8) Ll. 21a–22–23. (9) Ll. 29–30. (10) Ll. 32, gisellion-nôtstallon. (11) Ll. 34b–35a. (12) Ll. 37, 38. (13) Ll. 40, 41 (opposed parallel var.). (14) Ll. 43b, uuidarsahchôn—44b, Northman—45b, thes her gerêda. (15) Ll. 46b, lioth frâno—47b–48a, sang. (16) Ll. 48–54 (group var., diagrammed below). (17) Ll. 55–56. (18) Ll. 57a, Hludwîg–57b.

Even a casual examination of early Germanic epic poetry must soon prove that its variation, while extremely frequent, is of a somewhat haphazard nature, occurring irregularly and loosely rather than according to any carefully worked out scheme of the author. However, even in the earliest specimens, there can be found the beginnings of a tendency toward that literary jugglery which Otfrid later carried to an extreme and which Behaghel found so characteristic in Middle High German poetry (*Beitr.*

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVIII, 216–217.

30, 431 ff.). Thus we find the chiastic arrangement at an early period (cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 1484–1485, also *Muspilli*, ll. 43–44). The marked increase in Otfrid's use of more and more complicated variation, as his literary powers developed with the progress of his work, furnishes an excellent index of the tendency in this direction. The exact position of the *Ludwigslied* in this respect as compared with Otfrid and with the other post-Otfridian poems may be tested by the following standards:

Word variation—phrase variation. The simplest form of variation consists in the coordination of two or more words, each of them referring to, and, in a greater or less degree, representing the same conception. The first line of the *Ludwigslied* furnishes a good example in kuning-Hluduuîg. Such variation, often asyndetical, forms the characteristic early type. *Chr. u. d. Sam.* has five such word variations out of a total of ten variations, *i. e.*, 50% (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 28, 216 ff.). While these are not of the pure epic type, yet their presence in large numbers does indicate the unskilled worker—the author who has not yet learned how to enlarge upon and develop his ideas. The author of the *Ludwigslied* on the other hand has reached a more advanced stage in his poetic ability; most of his variations are carried out to a greater length; his facility of expression, while still far below Otfrid's, begins to show development. The *Ludwigslied* shows only six simple word variations (1, 3, 4, 10, 15, 18) out of a total of eighteen—*i. e.*, 33%.

Length of variation. An excellent criterion of stylistic development is furnished by a comparison of the actual number of verses covered by each variation. *Chr. u. d. Sam.* here shows extreme simplicity of structure, since it has no single sustained variation covering more than two lines—a particularly striking condition in view of the fact that the poem has several three line strophes. The *Ludwigslied* on the other hand furnishes seven variations which cover more than two lines: 5, 8, 14, 15 have three lines; 2 has four lines; 6 and 16—both group variations—have six and seven lines respectively.

Frequency of variation. Frequency of variation, best measured by determining the number of lines containing variation, is a further test of increased facility of style, but only when considered in combination with other factors, such as length and structure of the individual variation. Thus the simplest of the early epics may, for example, show a high percentage of lines containing variation, and yet these variations may be of the most elementary character. When a high percentage of varied lines, however, occurs in combination with a large proportion of long and complicated variations, we may safely conclude that the author has acquired some skill in the art of "fine writing"—that he no longer stands on the simple plane of the early epic. Measured by this standard the *Ludwigslied* is plainly the work of an author more skilled than the composer of the *Christus* fragment, since the former contains 73% of lines with variation as compared with 48% for the latter. This total of 73% rivals even Otfrid himself, who surpasses it in only a few of his chapters (cf. *Beitr.* 38, 48 ff.). Otfrid's average for his five books is 59%, 66%, 67%, 65%, and 72% respectively.

Figures of variation. Otfrid shows an ever increasing facility in arranging his variations into artificial figures, such as enjambement, chiasm, and parallelism. The elementary style of *Chr. u. d. Sam.* is nearly free from this tendency. Ll. 9, 10 show an imperfect example of parallelism, while ll. 29, 30 form a perfect example of the same figure. With the exception of these two instances, the arrangement of the variations is apparently quite a haphazard one. The *Ludwigslied* on the other hand is much more pretentious, furnishing two examples of enjambement (ll. 7, 8 and 34, 35), three examples of parallelism (ll. 40, 41; 55, 56; and an imperfect one in 29, 30), and one imperfect example of chiasm (ll. 37, 38).

Group variations. The group variation, in which several themes are more or less schematically interwoven, is a favorite plaything of Otfrid (cf. *Beitr.* 38, 21 ff.), as well as of the poets of the Middle High German period (cf. Behaghel, *Beitr.* 30, 431 ff.). Otfrid acquired his facility in this complicated style only after

long practice, although both his sources and the earlier epic provided him with an occasional model (cf. *Hildebrandslied,* ll. 1–6). *Chr. u. d. Sam.* shows no examples of group variation—a fact in keeping with its general simplicity. The *Ludwigslied,* however, in true Otfridian style, introduces two examples, both pretentious in conception but evidently carried out by an unskilled hand. The first is found in ll. 13–18, the themes being as follows: *a* = the lost (two variations); *b* = the saved (three variations); *c* = the sinful (five variations). The scheme follows (ll. 13–18):

Sume sar[a] verlorane Uuurdun sum[b] erkorane;
Haranskara tholôta[a] Ther êr[c] misselebêta.

b { Ther ther thanne[c] thiob uuas, Ind er thanana ginas,
Nam sîna vaston: Sîdh uuarth her guot man.

b { Sum uuas luginâri[c], Sum skâchâri,
Sum fol[c] lôses, Ind er gibuozta sih thes.

This group variation is very loosely put together and shows marked inferiority to the carefully balanced group variations of Otfrid's maturer style. The poet starts out with two definite ideas in mind in line 13: *a* = the lost; *b* = the saved. Line 14 evidently contains a variation on theme *a*, while 15, 16 and 17, 18 form two variations on theme *b*. At the same time, however, the general phrasing of 14b leads to the working out of variation-theme *c* by the common process of particularization, and thus theme *c* somewhat illogically connects *a* and *b*—two themes which are diametrically opposed. Notice how Otfrid treats a similar group variation, keeping the opposed themes carefully apart (II, 15, 3–6).

Es maru wort[a] tho quamun, so wit so[b] Syri warun,
so wit so Galilea[b] bifiang; ther liut ingegin[c] aller giang;
Thaz mari ward[a] ouh managfalt ubar Judeono[b] lant,
ubar liuti manage[b], thie fuarun al zisamane[c].

The second group variation, ll. 48–54, is even more pretentious, containing four themes which are, however, more consistently carried out. The themes are: *a* = the battle began, raged (six variations); *b* = the Franks (three variations); *c* = brave (two variations); *d* = the enemy (three variations). The scheme is as follows:

Uuîg uuas[a] bigunnan,
Bluot skein in uuangôn: Spilôdun[a] ther Vrankon[b].
Thâr vaht[a] thegeno[b] gelîh Nichein sôsô Hluduîg[b]:
Snel[c] indi kuoni[c], Thaz uuas imo gekunni.
Suman[d] thuruhskluog[a] her, Suman[d] thuruhstah[a] her.
Her skancta cehanton } Sînan[d] fianton
Bitteres lîdes. } a

The most striking feature of the two group variations of the *Ludwigslied* is the fragmentary disconnected character of the various themes. In neither case can they be joined into a sentence, nor do they bear more than a general relation to each other. Otfrid on the other hand prefers to use the parts of a connected sentence as themes for group variation, as for example: 1, 3, 17–20: David (2) became king (4) on account of his merit (2); or V, 1, 1–6: His apostles (2) went on their way (3) refusing to be comforted (2) and discussing the event (3). Only occasionally does Otfrid use disconnected variation themes, as for example in I, 22, 23–31: the mother's anxiety (7), hasty return (4). This tendency of Otfrid is doubtless due, however, not only to greater literary facility but also to his careful adherence to his sources.

While the above discussion of the style of the *Ludwigslied* can be of no avail in clearing up the actual identity of its author, it may yet serve to throw some light upon his literary habits and ability. That he was an earnest imitator of Otfrid is undeniable. Equally evident is the fact that, however ambitious may have been his striving, he fell short of his model's literary facility. The author of *Christus und die Samariterin* was an unskilled, perhaps even uneducated beginner, groping his way in simplest phrase into an unknown liter-

ary realm. The author of the *Ludwigslied* was a scholar, not without experience in writing, who needed only Otfrid's training to become his peer.

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TWO NOTES ON *PATIENCE*

I

The first line of the Middle English poem *Patience* has puzzled editors, since the meaning of *poynt* has not been satisfactory. So unsatisfactory is it that Mr. Macaulay suggested adding *nobel* before *poynt*, as in the last line of the poem; see Bateson's edition, which adopts the reading. This, at any rate, improves the sense, though such an omission in the first line of the poem seems strange. The new edition by Professor Gollancz,[1] with a facsimile of the first page of the manuscript, suggests the possibility of another reading. From this facsimile it is apparent that *a poynt* of all previous editions may be *apoynt*. This suggests at once a more satisfactory meaning for the line.

Patience is apoynt, þag hit displese ofte

would then mean, 'Patience is commanded, or prescribed, though it may often displease, or be unpleasant.'

Such a reading is at least possible in this place. It is true that, in the manuscript of these alliterative poems, an unstressed monosyllable is often united with the following word, as noted by Professor Osgood in his edition of *Pearl* (p. x). In his facsimile the words *a poynt* of line 309 of that poem are joined in much the same way as the word or words in question in the first line of *Patience*. The same is also true in lines 594 and 891, as Professor Osgood writes me. Even this, however, does not offer any valid objection to reading *apoynt* in the line under discussion. If the author had intended the single word, he could not have joined the parts more closely.

Nor does the reading *poynt*, the substantive, in the last line of the poem prevent our reading *apoynt* here. The other poems of the author do not show invariable repetition of the first line in the last. In fact they would rather indicate the intention to vary the two lines somewhat. Yet the real reason for the emendation must be in the better sense which it supplies. This, it seems to me, is unquestionable. The poem emphasizes patience not as a desirable quality merely, but as one necessary to happiness. It is so spoken of in the first few lines of the poem, in lines 45 and following, in lines 347–8, and at the close, especially lines 521 to the end.

Moreover, this is unmistakably the teaching of Tertullian's *De Patientia*, which it seems probable the poet knew. I take some sentences from the translation in the Ante-Nicene Fathers:

"So is patience set over the things of God, that one can obey no precept, fulfil no work well-pleasing to the Lord, if estranged from it" (ch. i);

"Willingly, therefore, let us lose things earthly, let us keep things heavenly. Perish the whole world, so I may make patience my gain" (ch. vii);

"But, however, since patience takes the lead in every species of salutary discipline, what wonder that she ministers to repentance" (ch. xii);

"For Patience sits on the throne of that calmest and gentlest Spirit, who is not found in the roll of the whirlwind, nor in the leaden hue of the cloud, but is of soft serenity, open and simple, whom Elias saw in his third essay" (ch. xv).

Incidentally, the facsimile in this new edition, with its indication of closely written letters and words, seems to confirm two emendations which I recently offered in *Englische Studien*, XLVII, 125–31. An earlier proposal to read *as sayled* for *assayled* of the

[1] *Select Early English Poems.* I. *Patience, an alliterative version of Jonah by the poet of Pearl.* Edited by I. Gollancz. Oxford University Press, 1913.

manuscript (l. 301) appears in both new editions, Mr. Gollancz saying in his notes that he had arrived at it independently. The later proposals of similar divisions are in lines 269 and 279, where I suggested reading *glaym ande* for *glaymande,* and *ramel ande* for *ramelande.*

II

The reading in line 231 presents a difficulty that has not been satisfactorily explained.

He watȝ no tytter out-tulde þat tempest ne sessed,

so far as any glossary of these poems assists us, should mean 'He was no sooner cast out [than] the tempest or storm did not cease.' It is true that Mr. Bateson tries to get rid of the difficulty by calling *ne* enclitic (see glossary), but what he means is not clear. Professor Gollancz gives *ne* as 'not' in his glossary, but in his notes translates the above line without the troublesome word. Yet *ne* can not be a second negative, enforcing the preceding, since it occurs in a different clause from the first and clearly modifies a different verb.

I suggest reading *ne* adv. *'nigh, near, nearly,'* and the line, 'He was no sooner cast out [than] the storm nigh (nearly) ceased.' This is paralleled and completed by the next line, 'The sea became quiet therewith, as soon as it (she) might.' The writer of the poem, well acquainted with the sea as we know, was too much of a realist to follow any more closely the statement in *Jonah,* 1, 15: *Et tulerunt Jonam, et miserunt in mare; et stetit mare a fervore suo.*

Such a reading as I propose depends upon the possibility of ME. *neȝ,* common in these poems beside *nyȝ,* appearing as *ne.* In the first place it is scarcely necessary to call attention to the frequent omission of a letter or letters in the manuscripts of these poems. The reading may therefore be *ne=neȝ.* Nor will it be necessary to remind students of this poet that final ȝ(ȝe) must sometimes have been silent. Compare the rimes of *Pearl,* 301–312, where even *sorquydryȝe* is written for OF. *surquiderie,* riming with *yȝe* and other English words. Again, the parallel form *nyȝ* often appears without the final consonant, as in Chaucer's *ny,* adj. and adv., beside *neigh, ney.*

However, none of these explanations need be taken. There is good evidence that *ne* 'nigh, nearly' in *Patience* is probably the correct reading. The word *ne(nee)* is not only found in early Modern Scotch, but is still used in the very district to which the poet of *Pearl* and *Patience* is supposed to have belonged. The *Oxford Dictionary* gives an example from Douglas's *Æneis* X, xiv, 5:

Hys helm of skill besyde hym hang weil ne;

and Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* furnishes another from the same source, though without specifying place:

The latter terme and day approchis ne.

The *English Dialect Dictionary,* so useful with these poems, assigns the modern word to Lancashire and northwest Derbyshire. Lancashire examples are: "Very nee ten o'clock" from Brierley's *Layrock,* ix; and "It wur gettin nee bed time" from Waugh's *Heather,* I, 222. Wright also gives *nee* adj., *nigh,* in his *Dictionary of Provincial English.* While the earliest of these examples do not go back quite so far as *Patience,* I have no doubt the one case in line 231 is genuine, and think it not improbable that other examples in Middle English may be found.

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ZU ULRICHS *LANZELET* 4720 ff.

Im Verlaufe der Erzählung erfährt der Held von einer Botin der 'merfeine,' bei der er auferzogen wurde, seinen eigentlichen Namen und dass es von ihm geweissagt würde, er werde im Kampfe nie unterliegen. Ferner berichtet sie über das Schicksal welches den Vater getroffen, dass aber seine Mutter noch am Leben sei und

sich wohl befinde. In Bezug auf diese heisst es nach der Ausgabe von Hahn (*Lanzelet* von Ulrich v. Zatzikhoven, Frankfurt 1845) V. 4720 ff.:

> iuwer muoter hât gedienet wol
> an allen dingen mit ir tugent,
> daz ir an alter und an jugent
> von rehte müezet sælic sîn,
> Clârîne diu künigîn.
> es gelebete nie vrowe baz.

Dies ergibt doch keinen Sinn; denn wie ist danach V. 4724 zu verstehen? Wenn man dagegen V. 4722 mit der Hs. *W*—die wohl immer den Vorzug verdient—das Pronomen *ir* streicht und ferner V. 4723 die Form des Verbums ändert, also *müeze* liest, wird V. 4724 das logische Subjekt des Satzes, indem es in Apposition zu V. 4720 steht. Danach wäre etwa so zu übersetzen: Eure Mutter hat mit ihrer Vortrefflichkeit in jeder Hinsicht wohl verdient, dass es ihr (d. h. der Königin Clarine) im Alter und in der Jugend von rechtswegen gut gehen sollte.

In diesen Zeilen haben wir es, glaube ich, mit einer Variante der bekannten Sentenz zu tun: "Wer gut dient und sich auf das Warten versteht, dem geht noch einmal Alles gut aus" (Schönbach, *Erklärung altd. Dichtwerke* I, Wien 1899, S. 72), wie es denn bei Heinrich v. Veldeke heisst (*MF.* 67, 33 f. neu bearb. von Vogt, Leipzig 1911):

> Swê wale gedienet end erbeiden mach
> den ergêt et wale te gûde.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich noch auf eine Stelle im *Tristan* Eilharts v. Oberge aufmerksam machen, wo derselbe Gedanke wiederkehrt. V. 7417 ff.:

> swer sô wol gebeiten mag
> her gelebit dicke den tag
> daz im gesenftit wirt sîn mût,
> daz im lîp unde gût
> geschît dicke beide.

So viel ich weiss, sind diese beiden letzten Stellen nirgends zusammengebracht worden.

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BOILEAU AND PULTENEY

The influence exerted by Boileau upon English men of letters is a subject of no little interest. Walter [1] has given us ready access to much of the material, but was unable to determine the exact relation between Boileau and Pulteney in their translations of Longinus. In the absence of a text of the English work,[2] he was compelled to depend upon the reference of Swift, when the latter says:

> A forward critick often dupes us
> With sham quotations peri hupsous,
> And if we have not read Longinus
> Will magisterially out-shine us:
> Then, lest with Greek he over-run ye,
> Procure the book for love and money,
> Translated from Boileau's translation
> And quote quotation on quotation.

That Swift could not have intended to imply any covert borrowing from Boileau and was at most ridiculing a translation from a secondary source, is plain when we examine Pulteney's work, where it is stated no less than six times that the text is a translation from the French. On the title-page we read: "Written Originally in Greek by Longin and now translated out of French by Mr. J. Pulteney." Although nowhere in the text can mention be found of Boileau by name, the original is not far to seek. In the preface appears the following statement: "Wherefore I thought it convenient to say something in this place concerning the Author and Original of this following Treatise; but seeing the French Translator (whom I have all along copied) has already done it so incomparably well, I need only make use of his words, thus rendred into English." Then follows that portion of Boileau's preface which refers to the life and

[1] Ulrich Walter, *Boileaus Wirkung auf seine englischen Zeitgenossen*. Diss. Strassburg, 1911, cf. pp. 58–59.

[2] *Longinus—a Treatise of the Loftiness or Elegancy of Speech*. Trans. by J. Pulteney. London, J. Holford, 1680. I have used the copy owned by the Library of Congress.

works of Longinus, and the French author is again mentioned, "of whom," says Pulteney, "I shall say nothing, he being already sufficiently known."

There is no clear internal evidence that Pulteney consulted the original Greek. Although there are occasional notes with Greek etymologies and explanations from the same language, they are invariably derived from footnotes or from the "Remarks" of Boileau. These latter furnish material, also, some half-dozen times for marginal notes in the English.[3] The notes of Boileau are usually kept; but where the French gives references to sources, such indications are always given in less detail or are omitted. When kept, they appear without the line; the reference is sometimes given as a footnote; sometimes in the margin, and not infrequently is incorporated into the text itself. The works most frequently cited are those of Homer, although they, too, in many cases share the fate of other authors. Inasmuch as the text usually refers to the author illustrated, Pulteney may have considered such mention sufficient. Sometimes, however, he cites two passages, giving one source and not indicating a different origin for the second (pp. 34 and 61).

At times the translation from the French seems to lose the point. "Saith Terentianus" (p. 15) for a vocative is a plain case of misunderstanding. "Eratosthenes" (p. 124) is unintelligible as used in this instance. Pulteney often reverses the order, and at times places phrases in other connections than the one intended (*cf.* "According to the opinion of the Wise," p. 164). Other infelicitous translations are: "a pleasing Symmetrie throughout" (pp. 22–23) whereas the idea is that the approbation must be general, must be felt by all men; certain phrases relating to the body (pp. 116–117, "liver," "batteries," *etc.*); "none of his own," (p.124); "number and quality" (p. 126); "suffer to be given" for "*laisser de donner*" (p. 141); "tunable instruments" for "*tout ce qu'il y a de différens sons*" (p. 144); "among several other things" (p. 159). "He is pleasant in his ethics" is a poor rendering of "*ne s'entend pas fort bien à peindre les moeurs*" (p. 127). In another instance there is a double translation, thus: "*il n'y a rien de plus sec qu'un hydropique*" is given by the phrases: "no disease so juiceless or that renders the Patient so thirsty" (p. 11).

In general, the originality of the English author is confined to his not infrequent omission of lines explanatory in their nature or adding no new thought. He often condenses; and omits a bold expression occasionally (p. 164). Throughout the work a certain fondness for the epithet is noticeable, both in his addition of new adjectives (*e. g.*, unconstant, p. 35; blunt, p. 35; raw and new made, p. 64; crafty and pedantick, p. 78; insatiable, p. 166) and in his use of two English words for one French expression (settled and deliberate for *rassis*, p. 86, and many other cases). There is, too, a certain tendency toward technical terms not found in Boileau (*in genere demonstrativo*, p. 53; anaphora, diatiposis, pp. 84–85; polyptotes, p. 92; *a Fortiori*, p. 162). Names are sometimes added to the text (Eris, p. 29; Antilochus, p. 37; Pythia is attached to Apollo, p. 55).

In at least three cases the meaning of Boileau's text has been emended. On page 34 the account of the Creation is so changed as to conform to the Biblical account in order: light, then firmament, rather than light, then earth. Elsewhere a statement is changed in application from the author to the reader and is thus improved (p. 103). The most striking deviation, however, is found in the comparison between Thucydides and Demosthenes, where Boileau, by some mistake, makes Thucydides the more fond of Hyperbaton; Pulteney corrects the statement on this point and is in conformity with the Greek.

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[3] In his translation: "their monarch," p. 34, Pulteney follows a "Remark" of Boileau on the same passage.

THE ENGLISH NOVEL. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London, J. M. Dent and Co.; New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1913. [Channels of English Literature.]

The publishers have said no more than the truth in describing Professor Saintsbury's new book as "delightfully readable." There is in it abounding wit, quaint personal touches, and that never-failing enthusiasm which is the author's chief charm. It seems almost disloyal to criticise the work of one who has for so long been an ever-ready guide in all the paths and by-ways of letters and who has been so sturdy a champion of literature.

A history of the novel commensurable in scale and scope with the various histories of the drama has long been needed; and one might well hope that from the stores of his extraordinary range of reading Mr. Saintsbury would produce an authoritative volume. This to some extent he has accomplished; certain portions, notably the chapter on Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne, and the pages on Miss Austen, are admirable and satisfactory. Other parts are less good; some, especially the treatment of Scott and Dickens, quite inadequate. This lack of uniform excellence is due partly to the failure to define strictly the meaning of the word "novel." During the earlier stages of his narrative Mr. Saintsbury includes within his range romances not in prose only but in verse. After he has passed the "Four Wheels of the Novel Wain" (to use his metaphor) he tends more and more to slur over all novels that are not studies of manners. This is unduly to restrict the field of the novelist; as though one were to pass lightly over the whole drama except the comedies, say, of the Restoration period. It is because of his belief in the special "mission" of the novel to reflect the ordinary happenings of middle-class life that Mr. Saintsbury so exalts the work of Miss Austen, putting it in fact at the very apex of the novel. It becomes no one to disparage Miss Austen's work; within its confines it is perfect; but it reflects only a minute particle of life. If the novel is to compete with the drama it must spread further and strike deeper than the subtle irony of Miss Austen's comedy can reach. For tragedy is more profound than comedy.

Another serious defect, occurring in many of Mr. Saintsbury's books (notably in the *History of English Prose Rhythm*) is the lack of a well-defined and systematically followed plan. In *The English Novel* he gives too frequently the impression of skipping at random from book to book as the whim may lead him. This is the case chiefly when he is dealing with minor writers, yet might have been in great measure avoided. It is most noticeable in the chapters on "The Minor and Later Eighteenth Century Novel" and on "The Fiction of Yesterday," which seem to be constructed without any vertebrae. Mr. Saintsbury takes the lesser novelists in groups ("bunches" he would say), or treats them singly, quite according to his own fancy. This it is which gives the impression that we are reading not a history of the novel but a collection of sprightly table-talk and reminiscence of the reading of leisure hours. This impression is increased by occasional and astonishingly ingenuous passages, such as, "That very clever Miss Robinson (I think her name was Emma) who wrote *Whitefriars*" (p. 307). It is worth while straying from the immediate subject to call attention to another instance of this naïveté. In the *English Prose Rhythm* Mr. Saintsbury quotes a passage of Swinburne "from memory, my copy of *Under the Microscope* having retired from ken at the moment" (p. 429). Now, the passage cited is not in *Under the Microscope* at all, but in the rare little pamphlet, *Notes on Poems and Reviews*, p. 16. Such minor inaccuracies, too frequent in Saintsbury's writings, are akin to his scorn of *quellenstudien* and other minutiae of scholarship, as when he brushes aside the whole question of the sources of *Robinson Crusoe* (p. 67), a problem by no means unimportant in view of the popularity of stories of *l'homme sauvage*, "unaccommodated man," and such like in the eighteenth century.

There is space here to comment on a few only of the individual points suggested by

perusal of the book. On p. 167 reference is made to the probability that Rousseau owed his famous paradox to hints from Diderot. It is by no means certain that Rousseau did not get the notion from earlier English treatment of the problem of the effect of culture on society; to the present writer this seems likely. On p. 172, a reference might well have been inserted to the close of the preface to *Childe Harold,* where Byron directly compares his hero to Zeluco. On p. 174 it should have certainly been noted that one of *The Canterbury Tales* by the Lees is the source of Byron's *Werner.* On p. 175 it is said that Byron praised "the *Percy Anecdotes* and other things —either irresponsibly or impishly." Some readers will question the justice of the adverbs; let that pass. But for "*Percy*" surely "Spence's" should be read. The "certain Pickersgill" of p. 179 is of at least some shadowy interest as the author of *The Three Brothers,* the novel from which Byron derived the plot of *The Deformed Transformed.*

Scant justice is done to J. H. Shorthouse. It is true that he was *homo unius libri,* but to say that after *John Inglesant* he "never did anything else that was any good at all" (p. 292) is to ignore the merits of that delicately wrought allegory *The Countess Eve.* Nor are the claims of *Blanche, Lady Falaise* quite negligible.

It was wise to exclude the living from the scope of this history, yet we could wish that exception had been made in the case of the greatest of living novelists, whose work we must regretfully suppose all but finished, and whose masterpiece, *The Return of the Native,* is the best answer to Mr. Saintsbury's theory that bourgeois comedy is the typical novel-field. Mr. Hardy is, to be sure, mentioned, but it would have been well to give him space proportionate to that accorded to George Meredith.

But there is a defect in this book more serious than the various slight points on which I have commented. This is the absence of any philosophical point of view, any attempt to relate literature to life. It is a flaw that is characteristic of all Mr. Saintsbury's criticism. With admirable taste and ability to "appreciate" good literature, exerting, moreover, considerable and certainly beneficial influence upon many readers, he fails to reach the heart of things. Looking upon literature as a thing apart, in an ivory-tower of aesthetic isolation, he makes little or no effort to reveal it as the reflection of the form and spirit of every age. Hence he never gains the philosophical grasp of the greatest critics, a grasp such as has in our own day been attained by Professor Courthope.

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Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste, by WILLIAM OLIVER FARNSWORTH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1913. ix + 267 pp.

In his dissertation, Mr. Farnsworth makes a careful classification of those instances of contact between uncle and nephew occurring in the *Chansons de Geste.* He shows that, often, the nephew was fostered and knighted by the uncle, accompanied him on warlike expeditions, lived in his *maisniee,* and was the recipient of numerous marks of his favor. The greatest solidarity existed between them. Advice and aid were frequently offered and received. Mutual vengeance was an obligation. Their love for one another was indicated by expressions of anxiety in times of danger, of grief in times of trouble; by their delight in one another's success, and by the endearing and complimentary forms of address mutually bestowed.

The author's choice of illustrative examples is good, his quotations, with few exceptions, are accurate, and he has succeeded admirably in showing the closeness of the bond existing between uncle and nephew. It may be questioned, however, whether this conclusion offers anything very new to the student of Old French, and whether the value of this portion of Mr. Farnsworth's dissertation does not con-

sist in its being merely a well-made catalog of common knowledge.

The author aims higher, however, than mere cataloging, and seeks to extend to the *Chansons de Geste* a theory recently posited [1] for the *Conte del Graal*. He believes that the relations between uncle and nephew in the *Chansons* are a survival of matriarchy, of that primitive state of society in which the offspring were the exclusive property of the mother and in which the mother's brother was the head of the family and the natural guardian of her sons. Mr. Farnsworth offers no direct evidence in support of his thesis. He admits that matriarchy as an institution had long since disappeared, but he believes that in the *Chansons* there are indications of a legendary, traditional, and sentimental survival—of which, albeit, the people of the times and the authors themselves were in complete ignorance. These indications consist chiefly in the intimate bonds uniting uncle and nephew, often closer than those between father and son, and in the computation that, as characters in the *Chansons*, there are more nephews than sons. It would seem, however, that there could be found for this intimacy an explanation more reasonable and more probable than matriarchy. It was the custom [2] in the Middle Ages for nobles to apprentice their sons to some powerful *seigneur*, who directed their education, granted them arms, and finally admitted them to full membership in the household or *maisniee*. The relations between *seigneur* and follower were of the closest, possessed of all those characteristics of mutual obligation and affection shown by Mr. Farnsworth to have existed between uncle and nephew. The *seigneur*, for the time being, was looked upon by the follower as his father, and held over him the authority usually possessed by the father. It was, furthermore, the custom for the members of a family to apprentice their sons to that relative who was most powerful. Hence, every great lord had in his *maisniee* many young kinsmen who stood in a relation to him closer than that of an ordinary follower. His nephews were naturally, therefore, the chief personages of his *maisniee* and, in the *Chansons*, played a more important rôle than did his sons who were living in the household of some other noble. The intimacy of the relations between uncle and nephew might well be due, therefore, primarily to their being *seigneur* and follower and only incidentally to their being uncle and nephew. There seem no sufficient grounds for believing this intimacy an indication of the survival of matriarchy or possessed of any deeper significance than merely reflecting the cultural conditions of the times.

Mr. Farnsworth says that, in the *Chansons*, the father treats his son with severity, injustice, even hostility, while the uncle is friendly, kindly, and helpful. He sees in this different attitude a further evidence of matriarchy. This conclusion appears inexact. He cites a few examples in which fathers become angry with their sons; but, in every case, the son has done something to justify his parent's wrath. He cites, later, just as many examples in which uncles maltreat their nephews. He fails to take into consideration the large number of cases in the *Chansons*, illustrative of the usual rule, in which the father and son are united by the most friendly and loving of bonds.

A further evidence of matriarchy is seen in the fact that, at times, the nephew becomes the uncle's heir. But, as Mr. Farnsworth points out, the uncle in these cases has no living sons, and never dispossesses his son for his nephew. The author further supports his conclusions by showing that a man often traced his descent through his uncle instead of through his father; that, for example, Bertran is spoken of as the nephew of Count William of Orange and not as the son of Bernart de Breban. But, in these cases, the uncle is the central figure of the story, and what more natural than to express the minor characters in terms of the protagonist.

It is shown that *fils sa seror* frequently replaces *niés* as a designation for a sister's son. In every case, however, where *fils sa seror* is

[1] W. A. Nitze, *Modern Philology*, Vol. IX, January, 1912.

[2] See Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, Vol. II, pp. 455 ff. Also, Stowell, *Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, pp. 1–16.

used, *niés* would either not satisfy the rime or would not fill out the requisite number of syllables in the line. These reasons and the tendency of the Old-French writers towards paraphrase should cause hesitancy in laying much stress upon this point.

Mr. Farnsworth's strongest argument in support of his thesis seems to be that the majority of the nephews in the *Chansons* are sister's sons. It may, however, be noted in this connection, first, that the *Chansons* were usually written about a local personage whom it seemed desirable to connect with some national hero. This hero was a historic character about whose brothers, if any, more or less was apt to be known, so that it was more difficult to forge for the local personage a relationship with the brother of the hero than with his less prominent sister. In the second place, the *Roland*, as Mr. Farnsworth points out, strongly influenced the writers of the other *Chansons*, and Roland was Charlemagne's sister's son. Finally, many of the nephews in the *Chansons* were brother's sons, standing in a relation to their uncles equally close as that of the sister's son. Why should this be so if any vestige of matriarchy survived in the uncle-nephew relationship?

All the data advanced in support of the main thesis of the work thus seem open to a different interpretation, even though, taken together, they may have a certain cumulative value. In any event, we are indebted to the author for an excellent presentation of a most interesting subject.

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The Literary Relations between La Fontaine and the "Astrée" of Honoré d'Urfé, by Walter P. Fischer. Philadelphia: Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1913. 8vo., x + 103 pp.

La thèse de M. Fischer est un travail consciencieux, et qui se lit avec agrément: l'exposition en est simple, claire, dégagée de lourdeurs pédantesques. C'est une œuvre de début, et, si je n'en faisais point d'estime, je n'insisterais pas sur les réflexions qu'elle suggère et sur des critiques de détail. Assuré que M. F. peut fournir d'utiles contributions aux recherches d'histoire littéraire, je me permets de souligner quelques incertitudes de méthode et de composition auxquelles il serait aisé de porter remède.

Le plan adopté est le suivant: une brève introduction (p. 1–5) sur l'influence de l'*Astrée* au xvii^e^ siècle:—puis l'énumération de tous les passages où La Fontaine mentionne directement l'*Astrée*, et, sur chacun, un bref commentaire (p. 5–16); abordant ici l'opéra de La Fontaine, *Astrée* (1691), M. F., au cours d'une analyse détaillée (p. 16–33), en étudie les rapports avec le roman de d'Urfé; il introduit enfin une courte discussion d'une opinion de l'abbé d'Olivet à propos de l'influence de l'*Astrée* sur le sentiment de la nature dans La Fontaine (p. 33–37).—Dans la seconde partie du livre, M. F. étudie l'influence "diffuse" de l'*Astrée* dans les *Fables*, les *Contes* et les *Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon*.—Ce plan me paraît fort discutable, et cela pour deux raisons: 1) La distinction des passages où La Fontaine "cite" d'Urfé et de ceux où il s'en "inspire" est tout à fait artificielle et, d'ailleurs, pleine d'inconvénients: outre qu'elle oblige l'auteur à des redites, elle l'amène à donner place à l'opéra d'*Astrée* dans la première partie de son travail, l'isolant ainsi du reste de l'œuvre.—2) M. F. voulant arriver (p. 95) à une conclusion "chronologique" sur l'influence de l'*Astrée* (et cela est excellent)—, quelle étrange méthode d'étudier les œuvres de La Fontaine dans un ordre qui n'a rien à voir avec la chronologie, et de prendre tour à tour *l'Astrée* (1691), les *Fables* (depuis 1668), les *Contes* (1665–1676) pour finir par les *Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (1669)? En quoi cet ordre fantaisiste sert-il à la thèse qu'on veut établir?

Dans sa préface (p. vi), M. F. indique une sage précaution de méthode: "It has been difficult to draw a line between conscious borrowings and mere coincidences; . . . there is always the danger of ascribing to the influence of *one* work of the beginning of the century, what La Fontaine might have found

among his contemporaries." Rien de plus judicieux; mais quelle règle pratique en tirer? N'est-ce pas de pousser l'analyse et la recherche assez loin pour définir *exactement* les traces précises et les limites de l'influence que l'on prétend étudier? Et, dès lors, pourquoi suivre la route opposée, et avouer que l'on substituera aux véritables études de sources, de simples comparaisons qui ne signifient plus grand-chose? ("The form of presentation which is here finally adopted is a comparison rather than a study of direct influence"). Il convient, dans des études de ce genre, de préciser l'énoncé du problème, et de s'y tenir avec une rigoureuse fidélité: faute d'avoir ainsi procédé, M. F. arrive à composer son travail de deux parties: l'une, où il énumère des emprunts directs et des souvenirs précis,—en quoi il ajoute assez peu aux renseignements fournis par l'édition des "Grands Écrivains"; l'autre, où il se borne à des comparaisons générales, nécessairement vagues et peu probantes.

Voici enfin un certain nombre de remarques de détail, qui sont encore des questions de méthode:

1. Le premier chapitre, sur l'influence de d'Urfé au xvii^e^ siècle est trop hâtif et superficiel pour être utile: c'est un vaste sujet que quatre pages ne peuvent éclairer.

2. Il faut (p. 10, note 4) se tenir en garde contre ce procédé qui consiste à entasser les probabilités pour en faire une certitude. "Perhaps (deux fois répété) . . . probably . . . There seems . . . ," tout cela ne vaut pas le plus humble fait garanti par un texte.

3. Beaucoup de notes, intéressantes en elles-mêmes, ne tiennent point au sujet: elles devaient donc être éliminées. La rédaction de tout travail de recherches suppose une coupe sombre parmi les fiches accumulées: que nous importe, par exemple (p. 25, note 1), une pièce d'A. Rivoire jouée à la Comédie-Française en 1905, et pourquoi donner (p. 61, note 1) la bibliographie de Maurice Montégut? (cf. encore p. 13, note 1; p. 14, n. 2; p. 17, n. 1, etc.)—Se méfier également des citations isolées de leur contexte; celles de la p. 59, n. 2, perdent toute valeur dès qu'elles en sont rapprochées.

4. Plus périlleux encore le procédé appliqué par deux fois p. 6: il ne faut pas, de la sorte, "solliciter" les textes, et leur faire signifier plus qu'ils ne peuvent: La Fontaine dit qu'il lit encore l'*Astrée* avec plaisir, et que d'Urfé "*par ci, par là,* de préceptes moraux nous instruit à sa guise:" M. F. en conclut que, pour La Fontaine, "l'*Astrée* est le livre d'amour par excellence." C'est beaucoup trop dire. Et c'est encore "tirer" un texte que d'appliquer spécialement à l'*Astrée* une opinion générale de La Fontaine, qui vise tous les romans, mais n'en désigne aucun.

5. Pourquoi, dans un travail de cent pages, en donner une douzaine à des digressions qui ne jettent aucune lumière sur le sujet lui-même? P. 48–52 sur le sentiment de la nature dans l'*Astrée;* p. 61–67, sur La Fontaine et Boccace, sur la préciosité, sur le burlesque; p. 77–82, sur les idées de La Fontaine en matière d'arts plastiques.—"Retournons à Psyché," dit M. F. (p. 83): pourquoi s'en être écarté?

6. Dans une étude de "sources" il convient d'être très difficile sur les rapprochements que l'on découvre. Il faut que la réminiscence soit incontestable et précise. Que dire du procédé qui explique ces deux vers des *Contes:*

> Une vertu sort de vous, ne sais quelle,
> Qui dans les cœurs s'introduit par les yeux.

en rappelant (p. 60) que "in the *Astrée,* the beautiful eyes of the beloved ones are the *pièce de résistance* of Urfé's poetical invention"?

7. Enfin je signalerai (p. 16–17) la dernière page du chapitre sur les *Fables* et l'*Astrée,* où se dénonce clairement l'erreur essentielle de méthode. On s'attend à une conclusion exacte, dosant, limitant avec rigueur et prudence, la nature et l'étendue de l'influence de d'Urfé sur La Fontaine. Or je ne vois qu'une série d'affirmations qui, loin de serrer de plus en plus les choses, vont sans cesse en s'élargissant, pour n'aboutir qu'à un vague lieu commun: a) "La F. is delightful in describing pastoral scenes;"—b) "His sincerest accents of tender love or of longing for solitude have counterparts in the *Astrée;*"—c) "The passages which

we quoted from d'Urfé . . . *may well have made* an unusual impression upon the fabulist's mind;" d) Si bien, conclut M. F., que l'on peut joindre le nom de La Fontaine à ceux de Sévigné, Racan, Racine, Maucroix, Mme. Deshoulières, pour dire que le xvii[e] siècle a connu le sentiment de la nature. Fallait-il un volume pour établir cette banalité?

Aussi bien toutes ces remarques témoignent de l'intérêt que l'on peut trouver à la thèse de M. F.: je m'en serais abstenu si son livre m'avait semblé négligeable.[1]

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CORRESPONDENCE

Macbeth, V, ii, 3–5

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—

> "their dear causes
> Would to the bleeding and the grim alarm
> Excite the mortified man."
>
> *Macbeth*, V, ii, 3–5.

The various interpretations of these lines are mentioned in the note of the Clarendon Editors (and cf. Furness, revised ed., p. 310):

"*the mortified man.* Theobald explained this to mean 'the man who has abandoned himself to despair and who has no courage or resolution left'; but Warburton suggested a more probable meaning, 'a religious, or one who has subdued his passions, is dead to the world, has abandoned it and all the affairs of it, an ascetic.' This is the explanation commonly received, and Johnson quotes the passage to illustrate the sense he gives to 'mortify'; viz., to macerate, or harass, in order to reduce the body to compliance with the mind. . . . But in the present passage such a sense seems scarcely forcible enough. May it not mean 'the dead man'?" (Here follow quotations to establish this interpretation.) "If the 'mortified man' really means 'the dead,' the word 'bleeding' in the former line may have suggested the well-known superstition that the corpse of the murdered man bled afresh in the presence of the murderer. It is true that this interpretation gives an extravagant sense, but we have to choose between extravagance and feebleness. The passage, indeed, as it stands in the text, does not read like Shakespeare."

The choice between "extravagance and feebleness" is an embarrassing one, especially since neither attitude suits the mood of men who are entering upon a campaign in the grim spirit of Macbeth's opponents. It is hard to be satisfied with either of these two paraphrases:

The justice of the cause should arouse even the ascetic to take part in the bloodshed and din of the battle.

The justice of the cause should stir even the dead to bleed afresh and show alarm.

The first of these lacks point; the second is not only extravagant, but violent, in that it distorts the phrase "grim alarm" from its familiar Shakespearean sense.

There is, however, a loophole of escape from the situation. The Clarendon Editors point the way in their method of rendering *mortified.* To them the word appears, not in any one of its later senses, but rather with its primary meaning. If the dull *mortified* in this light takes on new life, may not the same process stir the seemingly innocuous *excite?*

The studious schoolboy who takes his Cicero into his English class might think of Cicero's words in his Second Oration against Catiline, where, to show the hopeless condition of some of Catiline's partisans, the orator says that their only salvation is to call up Sulla from the dead: *Sulla ab inferis excitandus.* In this and many other passages *excito* shows the meaning of "call up from the dead."

And this sense was not unknown in the English form of the word: witness the *New English Dictionary*, s. v. excite, 2 b:

> "To call up (a departed spirit)
> 1651 Walton in Reliq. Wotton (1672) 208. 'Unless we could excite them again and confer a while with their naked ghosts.'"

[1] Des erreurs de détail et des fautes typographiques: p. 1: l'*Astrée* achève de paraître en 1627, non 1628;—p. 2: Le choix du titre, l'*Astrée*, n'a rien à voir avec la pacification de la France par Henri IV;—p. 2: Le *Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, et non des *Précieux*, paraît en 1661, et non 1660;—p. 25 et p. 31: lire *Marsan* et non *Marsand;*—p. 57: *Arnauld d'Andilly* et non *Arnould;*—p. 82: l'éditeur de Molière en 1825 est *Auger* et non *Augier.*

A third paraphrase of the words of Monteith may, then, be suggested:

The justice of their cause should rouse even the dead to an interest in the bloodshed and din of the battle.

Such language is natural enough from the lips of a soldier who comes with an army to avenge those whom Macbeth has butchered, whether the words refer to the victims of the tyrant themselves or to dead men in general.

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A Method in Writing

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—While studying Thomas Love Peacock as the satirist of the Romantic Movement I came upon the following passage (*Nightmare Abbey,* ch. XIII) ridiculing what is known in California as the 'Concrete Detail Method in Writing.' It may interest students of Realism, and others:

The whole party followed, with the exception of Scythrop, who threw himself into his arm-chair, crossed his left foot over his right knee, placed the hollow of his left hand on the interior ankle of his left leg, rested his right elbow on the elbow of the chair, placed the ball of his right thumb against his right temple, curved the forefinger along the upper part of his forehead, rested the point of the middle finger on the bridge of his nose, and the points of the two others on the lower part of the palm, fixed his eyes intently on the veins in the back of his left hand, and sat in this position like the immovable Theseus, who, as is well known to many who have not been at college and to some few who have, *sedet, aeternumque sedebit.*

Peacock's rap at the end at the Universities is characteristic. He did not attend them; yet he prided himself that he knew Latin and Greek better than most college men.

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BRIEF MENTION

Littérature Espagnole, par James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Deuxième édition, refondue et augmentée. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1913. 8vo., xii + 494 pp.) This is not a revised edition of the Davray translation (1904), but an entirely new reworking of the original volume and a translation into French by the author himself. While the general form and plan of the earlier version are retained, an increase in size coupled with a judicious abridgment of the introductory chapter have made it possible to add some seventy pages of new material. There is careful revision of details, notably the chronological data. Among the noteworthy additions may be mentioned the fuller study of the *romances,* the enlarged sections on Garcilaso and the lyric schools, and the treatment of the most recent writers of to-day, with especial attention to the *género chico.* Indeed, the author has purposely devoted enlarged space to the history of the drama, beginning with the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos.* Finally, the biographies of Cervantes, Lope, Tirso and Calderon have been entirely rewritten in light of the many recent and important additions to our knowledge of these masters. Throughout the book, we have in evidence that mature judgment and broad sympathy which characterize Fitzmaurice-Kelly's writings, and we are enabled to share his knowledge of other literatures when such literatures come into contact with Spanish. In short, the book is a comprehensive history in which are found accuracy of detail, literary appreciation and a just sense of proportion.

The forty-seven pages of *Notes Bibliographiques,* which formed an appendix to the previous edition of the *Littérature Espagnole,* appear now under the title *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de la littérature espagnole* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1913. 8vo., viii + 80 pp.). The mere increase in pagination gives a fair idea of the enlarged value of this admirable work.

The *Historia de la literatura española* por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly (Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1913, 8vo., xii + 562 pp.) is a close translation of the revised *Littérature* and includes a *Bibliografía,* or Spanish printing of the French *Bibliographie.* The book succeeds the Spanish translation by Bonilla y San Martín with the introduction by Menéndez y Pelayo (1901). The additions in the final chapter, "La Literatura desde 1868," are especially interesting. They

include the composers of the music for specific plays of the *género chico*, other important names among modern Spanish scholars, and a supplement to the list of contemporary journalists.

The *Bibliografía* of the above volume is, in reality, a revised edition of the *Bibliographie*, and contains not only additions of recent works but occasional insertions of earlier ones. Occasionally we miss in both the French and Spanish versions an item that seems of primary importance. The "Ouvrages bibliographiques" do not include the *Bibliographie* of the *Zts. für Rom. Phil.*, and similar sections of the *Kritischer Jahresbericht*. In the "Ouvrages d'ensemble et généralités" we do not find Croce, *La lingua spagnuola in Italia*, Roma, 1895; Monreal, *Cuadros viejos*, Madrid, 1888. The "Collections de textes" contains no mention of the *Gesellschaft für Rom. Lit.* To the list of "Editions et études" might be added Ercilla y Zúñiga, *La Araucana*, ed. Jean Ducamin, Paris, 1900; Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Zum Sprichwörterschatz des Juan Manuel*, in *Bausteine zur Rom. Phil.*, Halle, 1905; Mesonero Romanos, *Selections*, ed. G. T. Northup, New York, 1913; *Revelación de un ermitaño*, ed. Octavio de Toledo, in *Zts. für Rom. Phil.* (1878), Vol. II, pp. 46–69; Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Notas Vicentinas* in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* (1912), Vol. I, pp. 203–293; Kaltenbacher, *Der altfranzösische Roman Paris et Vienne* in *Romanische Forschungen* (1904), Vol. XV, pp. 321–688*a* (contains text and study of the *Paris y Vianna*). The list of such items as the above could be further extended, but the question of just what should be included in a selective bibliography, is necessarily subjective. The present collection is the most valuable working list for Spanish literature in its entirety.

Dr. Walter Peirce, in publishing Pierre Loti's *Pêcheur d'Islande* (Boston, Ginn, 1913), has given us a good edition of this masterpiece. The text is clearly printed, and the notes, though not extensive, are sufficient to interpret the author's meaning and contain also many items of interest gathered by the editor during a summer's sojourn in Brittany. The vocabulary is as full as could be desired and there is a ten-page introduction treating of Pierre Loti and his work. The story should be read by every student of the modern French novel, and it is strange that this should be not only the first edition by an American editor but also the first published in this country that gives even an approximately complete text. M. P. B.

In the second edition of his *Histoire de France* (New York, Macmillan, 1913), Professor Alcée Fortier, while leaving the original plates unchanged, has made two useful additions: a chapter resuming the principal events since 1900 and a series of portraits of the most famous characters of French history. To cover the entire period from the conquests of Julius Caesar to the election of President Poincaré in less than two hundred pages is no slight task, but one which Professor Fortier has accomplished so well that his history will be found a helpful companion to the regular reading of second and third year classes in French.

M. P. B.

In *Ludwig und Annemarie* von Melchior Meyr, edited by F. G. G. Schmidt (New York, Oxford University Press, 1913), one of the best examples of the *Dorfgeschichte* has been made available for school use. The style shows the characteristics of the type, such as indulgence in general reflection, obtrusion of the person of the author, and a marked epic broadness, but these characteristics harmonize in a measure with the substance of the story, and over against them stands the excellent character-drawing, more especially in the case of the *Angerbauer* with his lapidaric utterances. Instead of the cosmopolitan city-life of most modern stories, we here have an interesting picture of rural life in the district of the Ries. The editing of a story so redolent of the soil could be undertaken only by one to the manor born, and Professor Schmidt both by nativity and previous studies was particularly well equipped for the work. The text has been printed with extreme care: except for a faulty syllabication (17, 20) and a questionable punctuation here and there, it seems to be absolutely correct. Three illustrations are furnished. The third, the City of Nördlingen, might well have been omitted in favor of a peasant in the characteristic Ries costume. The parallelism to Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* is commented on in the Introduction; it might well have been enlarged upon in notes on particular passages (37, 18; 134, 20; 140, 23; 151, 24). The dialectic use of *nimmer* (37, 9) and the contamination *gehört mein* (104, 12) requires comment.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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NOTES ON CHAUCER: EARLIER OR MINOR POEMS

DANTE AND CHAUCER

Beginning in Tyrwhitt's edition of the *Canterbury Tales,* many cases have been pointed to of translation from Dante in Chaucer's poetry, including many in the *Troilus,* while writing which he had all the great Trecentisti so much in mind. I give here a few of a different sort, where comparison with the *Inferno* seems to show more meaning in a passage in Chaucer.

When Criseyde learns she must leave Troilus, she dolefully apostrophizes him:

> For though in erthe y-twinned be we tweyne
> Yet in the feld of pitee, out of peyne,
> That hight Elysos, shul we been y-fere,
> As Orpheus with Erudice his fere.
> (*T. and C.*, IV, 788–91.)

The picture of Elysium implied in the second of these lines by no means recalls Virgil's *locos laetos et amoena virecta,*[1] but rather Dante's Christian idea of the abode of the virtuous pagan dead (*Inf.* canto IV.), whither Chaucer might conceive these lovers as going:

> Non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri (26),
> Ciò avvenia di duol senza martiri (28),
> Che senza speme vivemo in disio (42).

Among the souls here is Orpheus' (140), whom Chaucer mentions. Of course Chaucer would recognize that Dante's "prato di fresca verdura" (111) was nothing else than the ancient Elysian fields, now clouded over.

A little later Troilus, thinking his lady dead, resolves on suicide,

> So that his sowle hir sowle folwen mighte
> Ther-as the doom of Mynos wolde it dighte (1187–8).

Boccaccio merely has

> E nell'inferno con lei abitasse.[2]

Did Chaucer think of the 5th canto of the *Inferno,* where Minos assigns dooms (4–15), and directly afterwards the poets see Francesca and Paolo forever united, and other lovers?

At the end of the *Troilus* (V, 1791–2) Chaucer bids his "litel book"

> kis the steppes, wher-as thou seest pace
> Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan and Stace.

Dr. Skeat thought these writers mentioned because some of them contributed to the poem, but except for Statius the use of those of them who were used at all was slight. They are mentioned rather, perhaps, as distinguished narrative poets to whom a modern epic should do homage. Is not the list due to the company which Dante joins in Limbo, Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan and Horace?[3] The last, not being an epic poet, is naturally replaced by Statius, whom Dante meets in Purgatory (canti XXI–XXVIII), and whose *Thebaid* Chaucer had used in this poem,[4] especially in this last book.

In the *Canterbury Tales* the Man of Law uses a curious conceit in reviling old Donegild; he commits her to the Fiend, exclaiming (*M. L. T.* 782–4):

> Fy, mannish, fy! o nay, by god, I lye,
> Fy, feendly spirit, for I dar wel telle,
> Though thou heer walke, thy spirit is in helle!

He may mean no more than vaguely that while she is still alive her conversation is in hell. But the passage may well be taken as reminiscent of that part of lowest hell called by Dante Tolomea (*Inf.* XXXIII, 124), where the spirits of traitors against friends and guests are fast in the infernal ice even before they

[1] *Aen.* VI, 638. Nor the conception in Statius (cf. Dr. Wise, *Influence of Statius on Chaucer,* Baltimore, 1911, pp. 14–5).

[2] *Filostrato,* IV, 120. Skeat refers to Virgil, *Aen.* VI, 431–3, and Dr. Wise (p. 15) to passages in Statius but little like Chaucer's.

[3] *Inf.* IV, 82–102.

[4] Cf. Wise, pp. 4–36.

die, fiends occupying their bodies still walking on earth.[5] Old Donegild had been a traitor against her daughter-in-law, a defenceless foreigner. Dante's conception is strikingly paralleled in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus,* III, 8 (ed. Webb, vol. I, p. 190), but is nearer Chaucer's.—A little verbal resemblance between *M. L. T.* and the *Inferno* is probably accidental; "Or Ylion brende" (289), "Poichè il superbo Ilion fu combusto" (I. 75).

Bells Ringing Without Hands: *T. and C.* III, 188–9

When Criseyde by Troilus' bedside accepts him as a lover, Pandarus says his *Nunc dimittis:*

> With-outen hond, me semeth that in towne,
> For this merveyle, I here ech belle sowne.

Besides instances of this weird conceit in the ballads,[6] there are many others. The marvelous ringing is often, as fancied here, to celebrate a joyous event. In Latin, Welsh and French versions of the romance of *Amis et Amiles* the bells ring of themselves when the friends go to church to give thanks for the healing of Amis;[7] in French and English versions of *Florence de Rome,* when the heroine lands after a shipwreck;[8] according to tradition, when Pope Alexander III. came in disguise to St. Maur near Paris;[9] in the romance of *Claris et Laris,* to celebrate the arrival of distinguished persons.[10] Sometimes the bells ring of themselves to solemnize the death of a great man, as Charlemagne's in *Li coronemenz Looïs.*[11] In the *Glælogns-Kviða,* by Þorarinn Loftunga, an Icelandic poet at the court of King Canute, the bells ring of themselves over the body of St. Olaf.[12] It was revealed to St. Catherine Audley, of Ledbury (about 1400), that she should seek a place for her hermitage till she heard bells ring without hands, as she finally did at Ledbury.[13]

The Folly of Second Marriage: *Bukton,* 13–16

Writing to Bukton of the folly of remarriage, Chaucer says:

> But thilke doted fool that eft hath lever
> Y-cheyned be than out of prisoun crepe,
> God lete him never fro his wo dissever,
> Ne no man him bewayle, though he wepe.

John of Salisbury, mocking at marriage in general and particularly second marriage, says, "Quis enim ei compatietur qui, semel solutus a uinculis, reuolat ad cathenas?"[14] He has

[5] Sappi che tosto che l'anima trade,
Come fec'io, il corpo suo l'è tolto
Da un demonio, che poscia il governa
Mentre che il tempo suo tutto sia volto.
Ella ruina in sì fatta cisterna;
E forse pare ancor lo corpo suso
Dell'ombra che di qua retro mi verna (129–35).

[6] F. J. Child, *Engl. and Scotch Pop. Ball.,* I, 173, 231; III, 235, 244, 519.

[7] Kölbing, *Altengl. Bibl.,* II, cvi; *Revue Celtique,* IV, 232–3; cf. Walter Pater, *Renaissance Studies,* chap. I.

[8] *Hist. Litt. de la France,* XXVI, 345; Ritson, III, 80 (ll. 1891–3).

[9] Villani, *Cronica,* V, 1; Giovanni Fiorentino, *Il Pecorone,* day XIX, novel 1.

[10] *Stuttgart. lit. Verein,* 1884, ll. 16288–9. I owe this reference and the next to Professor G. L. Hamilton.

[11] Ed. Langlois, 1888 (S. A. T. F., p. 128, ll. 273–4). William Morris used the idea with grand effect (half-rationalizing it later) in *The Blue Closet* (*Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems,* 1875, p. 194):

> And ever the great bell overhead
> Boom'd in the wind a knell for the dead,
> Though no one toll'd it, a knell for the dead.

Somewhat similarly, a most sweet sound of bells is heard in the air by the Bishop of London and certain Minorites when Bishop Robert Grosseteste dies (Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglorum,* Rolls Ser. 1866–9, III, 147, 330; *Grosseteste Epistolae,* ib. 1861, p. lxxxiii). The knell for the abbess Hild is miraculously heard 13 miles away (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.,* IV, 23).

[12] Vigfusson and Powell, *Corp. Poet. Boreale,* II, 161.

[13] See Wordsworth's sonnet on her (pointed out to me by one of my students, Dr. A. G. Beach); S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints,* appendix, p. 314.

[14] *Policraticus* VIII, 11 (ed. Webb, II, 299). Cf. also *Merch. T.* 1226–7.

just quoted some of Chaucer's favorite passages on the subject from Theophrastus and St. Jerome.

Cleopatra's Serpent-Pit: *L. G. W.* 678–80, 696–702

The manner of Cleopatra's death in Chaucer's *Legend*, as in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*,[15] is not found in other accounts. According to the *Legend of Good Women*, next the embalmed and enshrined body of Antony she had a pit dug and filled with serpents, among which she leapt naked, and there died and was buried. The account given by L. Annaeus Florus,[16] John of Salisbury,[17] and Boccaccio[18] is that Cleopatra, royally clad, lay down in the mausoleum where the body of Antony was and allowed herself to be bitten by asps or other serpents. The versions of Orosius[19] and Vincent of Beauvais (following Hugh of Fleury)[20] are similar, not mentioning her costume. Dio Cassius[21] and Plutarch[22] give a similar account, mentioning the royal array, and giving as an alternative explanation of her death the use of a poisoned needle. Horace, Propertius, Suetonius, Velleius Paterculus, and the late Greeks Joannes Malalas (9th century) and Leo Grammaticus (10th century) say merely[23] that she died by the bite of an asp or other serpent; Strabo, that she died by the bite of an asp or by poison smeared on.[24] Boccaccio mentions as an alternative but less common opinion that Antony, before his death, made her drink poison.[25] It seems very unlikely that Chaucer, who well knew some of the earlier authorities,[26] did not know or misunderstood their perfectly plain and highly picturesque accounts of her death, in which there is no shadow of precedent for his novel details. These must certainly have been deliberate, due to some unknown account or more probably to his own imagination, not very obvious imagination at that, with their grisly grotesqueness.

Cleopatra's serpent-pit vaguely recalls certain things elsewhere,[27] but it is particularly

[15] Cleopatras, which in a Cave
With Serpentz hath hirself begrave
Alquik, and so sche was totore (VIII, 2573–5).

Gower, who gives the story in merely a few lines, is believed to have remembered Chaucer's account. It is copied also in the spurious *Cronycle made by Chaucier* (Furnivall, *Odd Texts of Minor Poems*, Chaucer Soc.).

[16] *Epit. rerum Romanorum*, IV, 11. Various mediaeval writers pretty clearly owe their accounts to him. That of the 12th-century Greek Michael Glycas is much the same (*Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* XXVII, 112).

[17] *Policraticus*, II, 27, III, 10 (ed. Webb, vol. I, 157–8, 200–1).

[18] *Comento sopra Dante* (Magheri-Moutier edition), II, 35–6.

[19] Bk. VI, chap. 19 (Migne's *Patr. Lat.* vol. XXXI).

[20] Cf. G. C. Macaulay, *Works of Gower*, III, 547.

[21] Bk. LI, ch. 13, 14. One of her eunuchs, according to him, had previously allowed himself to be bitten by snakes and had leaped into a ready-prepared coffin. But Chaucer can hardly have been confused by this.

[22] *Life of Antony*, near the end.

[23] *Carmina*, I, 37; *Elegiae*, III, xi, 53–4; *Octavius*, ch. 17; *Hist. Rom.* II, 87; *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* XV, 220, XLV, 55. Various other writers say the same; see the edition of Dio Cassius by Sturzius (Leipzig, 1824), VI, 11.

[24] Bk. XVII, ch. I, sec. 10.

[25] *Comento*, II, p. 36.

[26] Bech, in *Anglia* V, 314–8; Skeat, III, xxxvii.

[27] In the 24th and 25th canti of the *Inferno* the thieves are tormented naked in a chasm full of snakes; similarly murderers, according to the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, p. 129). The "Christian" hell is often pictured as full of serpents, —"mid dracum áfyllade," according to Ælfric. An early Middle English homilist represents deadly sin as a pit full of snakes, etc. (*O. E. Homilies*, E. E. T. S. 1868, I, 51). We may recall the impressive apologue, though of a quite different tendency, told by Barlaam to Josaphat, of a man who fell into a pit containing serpents and a dragon (Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.; Legenda Aurea; Stuttg. lit. Ver.* 1864, vol. LXXV, 70–2; ultimately from the *Mahabharata*); and another in the *Fables of Pilpai* of a man who fell into a pit containing an ape, a serpent and a tiger (*Stuttg. lit. Verein*, 1860, vol. LVI, 173–5; Spanish *Kalila et Digna*, ch. XIII; Wollaston, *Tales within Tales*, pp. 110–2). This last story is appropriated by Wireker in the *Speculum Stultorum* (*Anglo-Lat. Satir. Poets*, Rolls Ser. 1872, I, 135). Now and then newspapers report persons in the American southwest as falling into pits containing snakes, but this could hardly have been a common accident in mediaeval England.

curious that in early Norse tradition throwing into a serpent-pit is found as a means of disposing of an enemy. Ælla, king of Northumbria (d. 867), according to Scandinavian but not English tradition, put the viking Ragnarr Lodbrokr into a pit of serpents.[28] Gunnarr is put alive by Atli into a pit crawling with serpents.[29] Dangerous snakes being uncharacteristic in Scandinavian lands, Sophus Bugge made a striking suggestion,[30] that the story was originally told of a Vandal king in northern Africa. The bey of Tunis about 1881, Bugge pointed out, was reported to have an effective method of extorting confessions; the stubborn were cast into a pit, where they were crawled over by snakes, scorpions, toads and the like. Any pit in Egypt or elsewhere in northern Africa would naturally, and I am told does, usually contain such beasts.[31]

It is hard to imagine any point of contact between Chaucer and such Scandinavian tradition. But if Bugge's suggestion is valid, it may help otherwise. We are learning more and more how closely Chaucer studied verisimilitude of detail, in his later work especially. Dr. Schofield has lately shown how closely the account of the sea-fight in this very legend reflects 14th century warfare.[32] In the later Middle Ages, moreover, the manners and customs of the Moslem world were more or less known in Europe, especially in Italy, where Chaucer had been twice not many years before writing this poem. In describing the death of this African queen possibly he recalled something he had heard of serpent-pits in northern Africa.[33] Of course this is only a risky guess.

Ariadne's Crown: *L. G. W.* 2223–4

At the end of Ariadne's legend Chaucer says:

> in the signe of Taurus, men may see
> The stones of her coroun shyne clere.

Now it needs only a glance at a celestial globe to see that the constellation Corona Borealis is almost opposite that sign, and in Chaucer's day, owing to the procession of the equinoxes, would have been more exactly opposite. Dr. Skeat points out that Corona comes to the meridian with Scorpio, not Taurus, and says we must suppose "*in the signe of Taurus* means when the sun is in that sign." He is clearly right; a conventional way of roughly locating a constellation was to state the sign in which the setting sun would be when the former was in the east. Lydgate says in his *Troy-Book*,[34] speaking of "Gemyny,"

> In whiche þe Egle and also þe Dolphyn
> Han her arysing be reuolucioun.

[28] *Kraku-Mál* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.* II, 339 ff.); in ll. 126–35 the snakes are biting him. According to Saxo Grammaticus (*Hist. Dan.* bk. IX) he was devoured by serpents in prison. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biogr. s. v.* Ælla. Further, in the *Volospá* one of the three parts of hell is the pit Hvergelmir, where serpents attack wizards, truce-breakers and nithings ("Wolospa reconstructed," in *Corp. Poet. Bor.* II, 628, 640). In the *Prose Edda*, ch. LII, Hvergelmir is the worst of the places of torment, where the serpent Níðhoggr tortures the dead. Another is the serpent-hall, Náströndir, where perjurers and murderers wade in venom.

[29] By playing on a harp he charmed all the serpents but one, which ate into his heart and killed him. Cf. *Atla-Kviða*, 121 ff.; *Long Lay of Brunhild*, 236 ff.; *Oddrúnar Grátr*, 103; *Treg-rof Guðrúnar*, 38–9; *Atla-Mál*, 77 (Vigfusson and Powell, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* I. 50, 302, 313, 330, 335); *Völsungasaga*, ch. 41; *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. XLII., in the *Prose Edda* (ed. Wilken, p. 120; tr. Anderson, p. 201); *Þidrekssaga*, ch. 383. In the *Nibelungenlied*, on the contrary, Gunther's head is cut off by order of his sister Kriemhild.

[30] See his posthumous article on *Die Heimat der altnordischen Lieder von den Welsungen und den Nibelungen*, in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* XXXV, 261.

[31] Shakespeare's Cleopatra, though she dies by asp-bite in a "monument," says earlier (II, v, 94–5):

> So half my Egypt were submerg'd and made
> A cistern for scal'd snakes.

[32] *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), 139-152.

[33] When he assures us at the end, "This is storial sooth, hit 's no fable," he probably means that Cleopatra's life is a matter of history, as he knew some of the other legends not to be. Yet he may possibly have had in mind that her manner of death was the sort of thing which really happened in her country.

[34] E. E. T. S. bk. II, ll. 4494-5. The passage seems to be Lydgate's addition.

This reappears in the anonymous modernization of Lydgate's poem, *The Life and Death of Hector*,[35] which says of Gemini,

The Eagle and the Dolphin in it rise.

But Aquila and Delphinus are nearly opposite Gemini, and come to the meridian with the signs Capricornus and Aquarius. In both cases the time indicated is when the constellation is best observed and is visible longest.[36]

This method of timing the appearance and disappearance of the stars or constellations seems to have been handed down from the Romans, who defined seasons, forecast weather, planted crops, etc., by it; regarding sometimes the date when a star rose at sunset or set at sunrise (later called its acronycal rising or cosmical setting), sometimes that when it set at sunset or rose at sunrise (later called its acronycal setting or cosmical rising), or when it entered or emerged from the sun's engulfing light (its heliacal setting or rising).[37] The above cases are obviously of acronycal rising. Ovid's *Fasti* specifically mention the acronycal risings of the three constellations Corona, Aquila, and Delphinus.[38] Rising or setting opposite the sun seems to have been about as much regarded as rising or setting with it.

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[35] P. 100; published in 1614, and by some attributed to Thomas Heywood. There is a copy in the British Museum.

[36] Similarly sometimes with the calendar-date given by the Orientals for the rising of the lunar mansions; see Harib's table given by Steinschneider in *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XVIII, opp. p. 164.

[37] See *Abhandl. d. berl. Akad.* 1816–7, 165; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVIII, 58. The "dog-days" were attributed to the cosmical or heliacal rising of Sirius, and the spring-rains to that of the Hyades.

[38] *Fasti*, III. 459–60; V. 732; VI. 196, 471. On this whole subject, see the *Fasti*, *passim* (full of errors, however); Virgil's *Georgics*, I, 217–229; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVIII. chaps. 56–76; L. Ideler in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, Hist.–Phil. Klasse, for 1816–7, pp. 163–214, and for 1822–3, 137–69; and (mentioned in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Alt.-Wiss.* VIII. ii. I) G. Hofmann, *Über die bei gr. u. röm. Schriftst. erwähnten Auf- u. Untergänge der Sterne*, Triest, 1879.

ZWEI DIVANGEDICHTE

I. LIEB' UM LIEBE . . .

Am 23. September 1815 kam Marianne nach Heidelberg, wo Goethe sich seit dem 20. aufhielt, und am 26. kehrte sie wieder nach Frankfurt zurück. Die goldenen Tage, die die Liebenden inzwischen verlebten, haben einen Abglanz in dem am 25. entstandenen Gedichtchen gefunden, dessen Werdegang den meisten Goethefreunden—nicht mir—so eigenartig erscheinen wird, dass eine eingehende Besprechung sich lohnt.

In der Reinschrift ist nach Angabe der Weimarer Ausgabe Vers 5 erst nachträglich eingeschaltet worden. Damit wäre natürlich nicht gesagt, dass er vorher noch nicht vorhanden gewesen sei: es brauchte sich nur um ein Versehen beim Abschreiben zu handeln. Die Vermutung wird demjenigen zur Gewissheit, der weiss, woher die Form der Strophe gekommen war. Sie besteht aus zwei Hälften zu vier und fünf Versen, von denen die erste die Reimanordnung *abab*, die zweite *cdccd* zeigt, und lehnt sich damit eng an die erste Hälfte von Bürgers Elegiestrophe und die erste der aus ihr durch Doppelung zweier Verse erwachsenen Hohenliedstrophe an! Von vornherein wird man sich über solche Beziehungen nicht sehr wundern: das Hohelied hatte die Glanzzeit der Liebe eines schönen jungen Weibes zu einem alternden Dichter besungen, der ihrer beider Namen lange Zeit verbergen oder durch fremde ersetzen musste, und die Elegie war in jedem Betracht dem Hohenliede verwandt. Was dagegen auffällt, ist der Umstand, dass konform dem äusseren Bau der Strophe auch inhaltlich die erste Hälfte ausschliesslich Stellen in der Elegie, die zweite ebenso ausschliesslich solchen im Hohenliede gefolgt ist!

Man vergleiche zuvörderst Elegie Str. 5 erste Hälfte und Hoheslied Str. 29 zweite Hälfte:

B

Rosicht, wie die Morgen*stunde*,
Freundlich, wie ein Paradies,
Wort und *Kuss auf* ihrem *Munde*—
O kein Nektar ist so süss!

Doch—du fühlest dich verlassen,
Lied, in dieser Region!
Lange weigern sich dir *schon*,
Das Unsägliche *zu* fassen,
Bild, Gedanke, Wort und Ton.

G

Lieb' um Liebe, Stund' um *Stunde*,
Wort um Wort und Blick um Blick;
Kuss um *Kuss*, *vom* treusten *Munde*,
Hauch um Hauch und Glück um Glück.

So am Abend, so am Morgen!
Doch du fühlst an meinen *Liedern*
Immer noch geheime Sorgen;
Jussuphs Reize möcht' ich borgen
Deine Schönheit *zu* erwidern.

Es handelt sich hier aber, wie leicht zu erkennen ist, im wesentlichen nur um eine Art formaler Parallele, wobei das Gerippe übernommen wird und unter Umständen auch ganze Wortgruppen stehen bleiben können, wie hier z.B. die Worte *Doch du fühlest . . . Lied* beidemal eine längere Aufzählung abschliessen und einen Gegensatz einführen; die Aufzählung selbst brachte in B nur eine Reihe liebenswerter Eigenschaften der Geliebten, in G dagegen eine Reihe von Momenten wechselseitiger Liebesbezeugung! Der Weg von B nach G hatte über andere Elegiestrophen geführt. Goethes erste Verse fallen durch die starke Häufung von Bildern auf: es ist als ob der Dichter den Sprachschatz erschöpfen wolle, um das volle reiche Glück zu schildern, das ihm zuteilgeworden; und dazu hatte ihn die Erinnerung an Bürgers Elegie versucht, die schliesslich in dem Bekenntnis resigniert war: *Bettelarm ist, sie zu schildern, Aller Sprachen Ueberfluss. Zwischen tausend schönen Bildern Wühlt umsonst mein Genius,* und darum in der nächsten Strophe, *Eine solche ist es! Eine Die kein Nahme nennen kann! Die zu vollem Herzvereine Mich so innig liebgewann, Dass ihr seligster Gedanke, Den sie dachte, wie den Stab Rundherum des Weinstocks Ranke, Tag und Nacht nur mich umgab,* mehr oder weniger schlicht zusammenfasste, was Goethe wiederum in einer überreichen und gedrängten Fülle von Bildern auszudrücken sucht, wobei ihm nicht nur die nächste Elegiestrophe hilft,

B

Welch ein Sehnen, welch ein Schmachten,
Wann sie mich nicht sah und fand!
Welch ein wonniges *Betrachten*
Wo ich ging und sass und stand!
Welch ein *Säuseln*, welch ein *Wehen*,
Wann sie kosend mich umfing,
Und mit süssem Liebeflehen
Brünstig mir am Halse hing!—

G

Lieb' um Liebe, *Stund' um Stunde*,
Wort um Wort und *Blick um Blick;*
Kuss um Kuss, vom treusten Munde,
Hauch um Hauch und Glück um Glück.

sondern auch ein Passus aus der zweiten von Lavaters Loblied auf Helvetische Eintracht:

L

Frieden tief im Herzen tragen,
Freundlichkeit *im treuen Blick;*
Stets sich freu'n, und niemals klagen,
Niemals murren, welch ein *Glück!*

G

Lieb' um Liebe, Stund' um Stunde,
Wort um Wort und Blick um *Blick;*
Kuss um Kuss, *vom treusten* Munde,
Hauch um Hauch, und Glück um *Glück.*

die ihm infolge ihrer intimen Beziehung[1] zu der Elegiestrophe eingefallen war.

[1] Vergleiche noch Lavater Str. 8 und Hoheslied Str. 25:

L

Unbeweglich in Gefahren,
Unbesiegbar in dem Streit,
Alles, was sie wollten, waren
Schweitzer stets durch Einigkeit.

B

Ohne Wandel durch die Jahre,
Durch den Wechsel aller Zeit,
Leuchtet hoch das . . . Gute, Wahre
Dieser Seel' in Ewigkeit.

oder Lavater Str. 9 und Hoheslied Str. 36:

L

Aber, Wol dir, Eintrachtmehrer!
Heil dir, treuer Friedensfreund!
Heil dem sanften Sanftmuthlehrer,
Der beym Zwist der Brüder weint!

B

Sey willkommen, Fackelschwinger!
Sey gegrüsst im Freudenchor!
Sey gesegnet, Wiederbringer
Aller Huld, die ich verlohr!

Ich habe oben vom Gerippe der Strophe gesprochen: wo—um nicht im Bilde zu bleiben—die vorhandene Füllung verwendbar erschien, wurde sie natürlich beibehalten. Vers 3 zeigt das aufs deutlichste: er entspricht zum grössten Teil demselben Verse in der zuerst verglichenen Strophe, *Wort und Kuss auf ihrem Munde,* so dass Vers 4 den ganzen Rest des Inhalts der Strophe *Welch ein Sehnen . . .* und der Lavaterschen Verse zusammenfasst. Dass Goethe wirklich selbst empfand, was über die starke Häufung der Bilder in seinen ersten Versen bemerkt worden ist, ergibt sich daraus, dass er—nach einem ergänzenden Vers (5)—genau so fortfuhr wie diejenige Strophe des *Hohenlieds,* die der *Elegie*strophe *Bettelarm ist, sie zu schildern* inhaltlich entsprach: *Doch du fühlest . . .* Damit war denn auch das äussere Gerüst der zweiten Gedichthälfte gegeben, und der Inhalt bestimmte wenigstens den weiteren Gedankengang, der schliesslich den Abschluss brachte.

In Bürgers Strophe wurde die Unmöglichkeit ausgesprochen, Worte zu finden, die der Schönheit des geliebten Weibes entsprächen; aber in einer andern bekannte der Dichter, dass auch seine eigne Gestalt sich den Reizen der Geliebten nicht vergleichen könne, und dies Motiv ergriff Goethe. Es lag das umso näher als die betreffende Hoheliedstrophe sich unmittelbar an diejenige anschloss, die der eben erst (vgl. oben) passierten Elegiestrophe nachgebildet war:

ELEGIE

Eine solche ist es! Eine
Die kein Nahme nennen kann!
Die zu vollen Herzvereine
Mich so innig liebgewann,
Dass ihr seligster Gedanke,
Den sie dachte, wie den Stab
Rundherum des Weinstocks Ranke,
Tag und Nacht nur mich umgab.

HOHESLIED

Hohe Nahmen zu erkiesen
Ziemt dir wohl, o Lautenspiel!
Nie wird die zu hoch gepriesen,
Die so herrlich sich erwiesen,
Herrlich ohne Maass und Ziel:
Dass sie, trotz dem Hohngeschreye,
Trotz der Hoffnung Untergang
Gegen Sturm und Wogendrang
Mir gehalten Lieb' und Treue
Mehr als hundert Monden lang.

So knüpfte Goethe an die erste Hälfte seiner Strophe mit den letzten Worten der Elegiestrophe in der Form *So am Abend, so am Morgen* an, sprang in Gedanken auf die parallele Hoheliedstrophe über, und folgte, nachdem der Gedanke 'man sieht es dem Lied an, dass es seine Unzulänglichkeit dem Reichtum gegenüber peinlich empfindet' leise modifiziert war, endlich der nächsten Hohenliedstrophe:

B

Und warum, warum gehalten?
Konnt' ich, wie der Grosssultan,
Ueber Millionen schalten?
War ich unter Mannsgestalten
Ein Apoll des Vatican?

G

So am Abend, so am Morgen!
Doch du fühlst an meinen Liedern
Immer noch geheime Sorgen;
Jussuphs Reize möcht' ich borgen
Deine Schönheit zu erwidern.

Den Werdegang des ganzen Gedichts spiegelt meinem Gefühl nach im Kleinen derjenige des Gebrauchs von *erwidern.* Wir werden das Wort mit 'um sie deiner Schönheit entgegenzusetzen' oder 'etwas ihr entsprechendes dir zu bieten' umschreiben, aber der Weg, der zu dieser sehr ursprünglichen Bedeutung zurückführte, scheint mir doch über das *lohnen* der 2. und das *erstatten* der 38. Hohenliedstrophe gegangen zu sein: in allen drei Fällen handelt es sich darum, ein Äquivalent für das zu finden, was die Geliebte dem Manne geboten hat, sei es an Schönheit, sei es an Liebe. Sicher aber steht die Wendung *Jussuphs Reize möcht' ich borgen* unter dem Eindruck von Bürgers *Nimm mein Auge hin und schaue. . . . Sieh die Pfirsichzier der Wange, Sieh . . . dieser Lippe Kirschenfrucht . . .*, obzwar hier nicht die Reize selbst geborgt werden sollen sondern nur das Auge, das sie erkennt.

Die lückenlose Rekonstruktion von Goethes Arbeit, die ich hier gegeben habe, setzt bei ihm eine überaus intime Kenntnis der Bürgerschen

Gedichte und ihres gegenseitigen Verhältnisses voraus: dass er sie wirklich besessen hat, wüsste ich mit zahlreichen weiteren Beispielen, aus dem Divan und anderswoher, zu belegen.

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DESTOUCHES AND MOLIÈRE

The essential difference between the spirit of Molierian comedy and that which obsessed the theater of the eighteenth century finds a curious illustration in an experiment of Destouches in his old age. This experiment, which he tried at least four times, was no other than the inversion of the Molierian formula, the adaptation of the ideas in four of his best known plays to bring them into accord with the taste of the mid-century.

That this inversion, or conversion, or perversion, was conscious, there can be little doubt. Destouches knew his Molière well, and reverenced him; and in his second comedy, *L'Ingrat* (1710), he paid him the sincere flattery of imitation, for *L'Ingrat* is little more than *Tartuffe* as to plot, a *Tartuffe* done into melodrama. *La Fausse Agnès* looks more or less to *L'Ecole des Femmes* for its origin, though it develops into a sort of *Folies amoureuses.* But even if we neglect these imitations of Molière, we can not avoid seeing in the four comedies under consideration a conscious following of the model. In the preface to two of them he mentions Molière, in a third he takes over bodily the names of the two principal characters from Molière, and in the fourth the debt is sufficiently patent to stand without need of specific names.

These four comedies are: *Le Jeune Homme à l'Epreuve* (1751), *Le Dissipateur* (1753), *L'Homme singulier* (1764), and *L'Aimable Vieillard,* an undated fragment. Destouches died in 1754. *L'Homme singulier* was, therefore, posthumous, but was probably written near the end of his life. We know nothing of the date of *L'Aimable Vieillard.*

Le Jeune Homme à l'Epreuve carries no preface, but the names of Géronte and Léandre, father and son, are enough to put us on the track. It is, indeed, merely the situation of *Les Fourberies de Scapin,* developed in a diametrically opposite direction. Léandre is a spendthrift, it is true, but permeated with filial love and respect. Géronte is a father so loving and tender that he is with difficulty held to the point of being sufficiently stern for Léandre's own good. Pasquin, who takes the rôle of Scapin, has not a little of that rogue's resourcefulness, but he works in collusion with Géronte, and employs his very considerable gifts of dissimulation towards Léandre's reform. The entire cast, including uncle, mistress, and maid, labors to redeem Léandre by the gospel of love, and the result is all that might be anticipated of the author and the time.

In the preface to *Le Dissipateur* Destouches says frankly that he has set out to draw the reverse of the miser. He admits that Molière has said the last word on the character of the miser, that he had excelled his model, Plautus; but that after all it is an imitation, and he, Destouches, proposes to do something entirely original, and draw the opposite character, the spendthrift. It is not so essentially comic as that of the miser, and will, he thinks, be much more difficult to handle. It is much too difficult for Destouches, who could rarely see humor where humor was, much less create it where it was not. The resulting comedy has not a spark of the comic, and very little interest of any sort. It falls into the melodramatic mould which was becoming the standard, and has for heroine a coquette very *sensible,* and very, very good, while everybody else is irredeemably bad. And it preaches in solemn tones against the folly of prodigality.

In the preface to *L'Homme singulier,* again, he calls attention to the contrast between his hero and the Misanthrope. Let no one, he says, imagine that his *Homme singulier* is a new version of *Le misanthrope*—nothing could be more different. Different indeed; in fact, the exact reverse. Alceste scorns the man who loves the whole human race, and loving

the whole human race is precisely the peculiarity of Sanspair. Like Alceste, he deplores the vices of his time, he finds men for the most part odious, and all contact with them pernicious—but they are his brothers; and, remembering the essential goodness and primitive virtue of man in which the eighteenth century had such touching faith, he gushes with the milk of human kindness. That is his absurdity, his *tic,* his vulnerable side left open to the attacks of the comic spirit. Unfortunately, Destouches does not at heart regard such an attitude as comic, for it is precisely his own; and he could not, like Molière, jest where he loved. In fact, Destouches jested with difficulty at best, and nothing could be less comic than this play built about that most unimposing product of the century, the *homme sensible.*

In the fourth instance, *L'Aimable Vieillard,* he does indeed succeed in being funny, but where he least intends it. Perhaps this fragment should wring tears from the right-minded, but the right-minded are in the minority, and the comic muse has a way of intruding where she has not been asked. This *Aimable Vieillard* is a very advanced school for wives, but what a change has come over the spirit of teacher and pupil since the days of Arnolphe and Agnès! Their respective ages are as sixty-five to twenty, a rather greater difference than in the case of that earlier couple. But what an edifying attitude on the part of both! M. de Boisdoucet-Arnolphe insists that his young wife spend more money, dress better, go about more, and especially frequent the company of young men; Mme. de Boisdoucet-Agnès, on the other hand, prefers plain clothes, abjures the theater, abhors gambling, foreswears the company of her contemporaries, asks nothing but to be allowed to contemplate the virtues of her husband, and to celebrate his charms to her envious friends. Just what was to be made from this situation does not appear, for only the first act was written; but judging from the very many other plays of Destouches we may venture to assert that the result would not have been indistinguishable from Molière.

In these four plays the same change from seventeenth century ideas and ideals can be noted. It is a change to which Destouches himself had contributed not a little. Destouches is in his own person the *homme sensible* of the century. His equipment for the task of writing comedies is of the slenderest; he had no sense of humor, no wit, no grasp of dramatic situation, no talent for writing dialogue; in a word, he lacks the sense of the theater. On the other hand he has a certain fertility of invention in the way of plots, and an unfailing instinct for the pathetic in any given situation. He is didactic above all things, and his motto is *castigat plorando mores.* What wonder then, that where Molière saw the absurdity of an old or even a middle-aged man's marrying a young girl, Destouches saw the possibility of touching devotion on both sides? Or that where Molière represented a spendthrift son and a rogue of a valet conspiring to cheat a wary and parsimonious father, Destouches gave us the sympathetic father and virtuous valet reclaiming the madcap son through love? Or that finally where Molière laughs sometimes at and sometimes with his misanthrope, sees the comic side of his situation while sharing with him his mockery of men and things, Destouches with his singular man gathers humanity into an all-forgiving embrace, and weeps over it—and preaches to it? The hearty laugh of the great century died away with Dancourt and Regnard, and we must wait for Beaumarchais and his barber to bring it back to the theater: it is not for Destouches to disturb the mournful atmosphere with indecorous mirth.

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NOTES ON BYRON

I. Don Juan

A number of passages in *Don Juan* require annotation even after the admirable editing of Mr. E. H. Coleridge. The following notes are a collection of marginalia jotted down at intervals. The references are to canto, stanza,

and line. To economize space I do not print the passages from the poem.

Dedication, ix. In the fragment of an attack on Southey, in prose, which, written about the time of the Dedication of *Don Juan,* remained unpublished till Mr. Prothero's edition (*Letters and Journals,* VI, 380), occurs the same idea of the "Post obits" granted by an unpopular poet upon posterity (p. 382). Compare Byron's translation of Martial's first epigram (*Poetry,* VII, 74), in which occurs the line "Post-obits rarely reach a poet."

I, xiii, 4. Cf. Chaucer's *Prologue,* line 124 f., and see *Eng. Stud.* xxi, 331.

II, lvi, 7. The name "Tita" was suggested by Byron's Venetian servant, for an account of whom see Moneypenny's *Disraeli,* I, 383.

II, lxxxvii, 1 f. Cf. *The Prisoner of Chillon,* line 140 f., and see *Eng. Stud.,* xvii, 175.

II, cxxviii, 1. The name "Haidée" Byron apparently got from a Romaic Song that he had translated (*Poetry,* III, 22).

II, clxxxiii, 1 f. With this description of the sunset compare *Childe Harold,* IV, xxvii f. See *Eng. Stud.,* xxi, 176. The origin of both these passages is recorded in Lord Broughton's *Recollections of a long life,* II, 77: "Remarked the moon reigning on the right of us, and the Alps still blushing with the blaze of the sunset. The Brenta came down upon us, all purple—a delightful scene which B. has put into 3 stanzas of his *Childe Harold.*"

III, lxxxv, 1 f. For a valuable criticism of this passage see Ruskin's *Fiction, Fair and Foul,* III, *Complete Works,* ed. Cook-Wedderburn, xxxiv, 329 f.

III, ci–cvi. With this passage in several details—the Ravenna wood, the Virgin and Child, the tale from Boccaccio, sunset—compare the close of the second canto of Leigh Hunt's *Story of Rimini,* in its original form.

III, ciii, 7. In the New York *Nation* of July, 1911, I printed an inquiry as to the meaning of this line. Two interpretations were suggested. A correspondent signing himself "N." wrote, "I have always regarded 'strike' as the indicative verb, of which 'downcast eyes' is the subject, the sentence, characteristically, being left incomplete." He compared *The Winter's Tale,* V, iii, 100. This explanation is convincing, the more so as it is supported by a line earlier in *Don Juan* (II, i, 7): "I can't describe it, though so much it strike."

III, cv, 5, note. In the passage from Gibbon Mr. Coleridge misprints "lovely" for "lonely," which materially alters the significance of the citation.

IV, iv, 1 f. This, perhaps the most famous saying in the poem, is closely parallelled by a remark of Figaro's, "Je me presse de rire de tout, de peur d'être obligé d'en pleurer" (*Le Barbier de Séville,* I, iii).

IV, ix, 5. This is the one line in the entire poem which does not comport with the rime-scheme.

V, xcii, 7 f. Cf. *The Ode on Venice,* l. 8 f. Cf. also Chaucer's *Prologue,* line 399 f., and Skeat's note (V, 39). See *Eng. Stud.,* xxi, 332.

V, cxlvii, 8, note. Mr. Coleridge here omits, with no indication of the omission, Byron's long note on three errors in Campbell's *British Poets.* This note had appeared in the first edition (p. 217–8) and thereafter. It is an elaboration of the letter to Murray on the subject (*Letters and Journals,* V, 25), but Mr. Prothero makes no allusion to it in his notes.

X, lxxxv f. With this address to Mrs. Fry, the famous prison-visitor, compare Hood's "A *Friendly* Address *to Mrs. Fry in Newgate*" (*Poetical Works,* ed. W. Jerrold, 1906, p. 5 f.), which is an expansion, in the same metre and manner, of the idea set forth in Byron's three stanzas:

> Come out of Newgate, Mrs. Fry! Repair
> Abroad, and find your pupils in the streets.

XIV, xxxix, 3. The allusion is certainly not to the passage from Dryden's Virgil quoted by Mr. Coleridge, but to Pope's *Essay on Criticism,* l. 372.

XIV, lxxv, 8. Mr. Coleridge leaves Byron's vague reference to *La Nouvelle Héloïse* unverified. The famous phrase that Byron quotes is, as a matter of fact, not in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, but *Les Confessions*, book six. The passage is as follows: "Je commençais alors d'herboriser un peu. En montant et regardant parmi les buissons, je pousse un cri de joie: Ah! voilà de la pervenche! et c'en était en effet." See the context.

XV, ix, 1. There seems to be here a vague reminiscence of Propertius's "Sunt apud infernos tot milia formosarum," etc. (II, xxviii, l. 49 f.).

Two of Byron's references remain unverified. The two quotations from Voltaire in the Preface to Cantos VI, VII, and VIII, have, apparently, not been traced. A search for them through Moland's many volumes would not be worth the trouble, but should any reader happen upon one or both passages, the proper reference might be sent to *Modern Language Notes*. So also in the case of the allusion to Coke on Littelton (XV, lxxxvii), does Byron refer to any single passage of that famous work, and if so, what is the reference?

II. Corrigenda in Coleridge's Edition of Byron

Recent special study of the poetry of Byron has enabled me to gather together the following minute errors in the text and notes of the edition of Mr. E. H. Coleridge. Some of these have been corrected in Mr. Coleridge's later, one-volume issue of the Poems. While all are errors of detail, it may be convenient for students of Byron to have them here noted down. It is to be hoped that a complete revision of the text of the Poems will be undertaken some day, but that time is probably far off. References are to volume and page and lines of poems or plays.

I, 370. Mr. Coleridge fails to note that Byron's note to line 927 of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* did not appear in the first edition. This omission has misled at least one subsequent writer on Byron. See E. C. Mayne's *Byron*, I, 145, text and note 2.—I, 334. An entire line of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (480) is omitted. In correcting this in his one-volume issue Mr. Coleridge has altered and falsified the numbering of the lines of the poem.—I. 352, note 2. For *1813* read *1812*. See Poetry VII, 207.—III, 219. On the last line of the page, for *ii* read *11* or *xi*.—IV, 32. On line 20, for "cape" read "hill."—IV, 39. Next to last line of note, for "December" read "January."—IV, 93. Line 242, read "thy" for "the."—V, 18. On line 83, for "sister" read "sister's."—V, 63. Coleridge omits Byron's note to line 145, which was printed in the first edition (p. 88).—V, 196. On the last line of note, for "1891" read "1901."—V, 234. Line 30 is very incorrect, and the ellipsis "purpler it still" (of course a misprint) has puzzled at least one painstaking German editor. There is apparently no reason for rejecting the reading of the first edition (p. 374), "near it still."—V, 279. Line 3, for "November 9" read "November 14."—V, 279. Line 13 from bottom, for "1821" read "1822."—V, 321. For "Adah" read "Anah" throughout footnote. Coleridge repeats Medwin's error.—V, 529. Heading of page, for "III" read "I."—V, 534. Line 94, for "where" read "were."—VI, 129, note 1. Line 1, for "act i" read "act iii."—VI, 134. Stanza clxxxvi, line 8. Supply punctuation at end of line.—VI, 144. Stanza iv, line 8. Add "1," referring to note.—VI, 254. Stanza cxxxi, line 2. Add "1," referring to note.—VI, 379. Note 2, line 3, for "neithe," read "neither,".—VII, 270. Line 19, for "v" read "iv."—VII, 270. Line 9 from bottom, for "Wirke" read "Werke."

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ZUM VERHÄLTNIS DES RELIGIÖSEN DRAMAS ZUR LITURGIE DER KIRCHE

Es ist schon genügend nachgewiesen worden, dass das geistliche Drama des Mittelalters seinen Ursprung im Ritus der Kirche hat. Wie sehr das religiöse Schauspiel von der Liturgie abhängig war, ist auch aus dessen Prophetenszenen zu ersehen. Man würde erwarten, dass die Dramatiker die Prophetensprüche von der heiligen Schrift direkt übernommen hätten, aber dies war keineswegs der Fall. Aus der Gegenüberstellung der Prophetenzitate, wie wir sie im religiösen Drama des Mittelalters finden, und der ihnen entsprechenden Bibelstellen, wie ich sie zu geben im Anhang zu meiner Schrift über die Prophetenszenen[1] versucht habe, ist leicht ersichtlich, dass sich die Verfasser der geistlichen Schauspiele ihren Stoff nicht von der Bibel hergeholt haben. Sehr oft ist es sogar schwierig zu erraten, auf welche biblische Stelle sie in den Prophetenszenen anspielen wollen. Zweifelsohne war ihnen die heilige Schrift, wenn sie auch meistens Geistliche waren, eine *terra incognita.* Die Prophetenaussagen über den Messias, die den Hauptgegenstand dieser Szenen bilden, hatten die mittelalterlichen Dramatiker also nicht von der Bibel, sondern vom Brevier her. Nun sind aber die kurzen biblischen Zitate im Gebetbuch mit den Namen der Propheten nie versehen. Daher rührt es auch, dass im religiösen Drama des Mittelalters die Worte eines Propheten sehr oft in den Mund eines anderen gelegt worden sind.[2] Als endgültiger Beweis für die Abhängigkeit der Prophetenszenen wie des geistlichen Schauspieles überhaupt von der Liturgie der Kirche dürfte folgende Erwägung dienen. Im Alsfelder Passionsspiel V. 4859–4862 wird aus Habakuk herausinterpretiert, dass der Messias zwischen zwei Tieren ("in medio duorum animalium") geboren werden soll. Diese Stelle ist in der Vulgata weder im Buch Habakuk noch irgendwo anders anzutreffen, ist aber im Brevier und zwar im Responsorium zu Lectio vi., In ii. Nocturno, In Circumcisione Domini zu finden[3] und beruht auf einer falschen Lesung des 2. Verses im 3. Kapitel dieses Prophetenbuches. Schon Wilhelm Meyer[4] macht auf diese von der Vulgata abweichende Stelle im Alsf. Psp. aufmerksam. Er verfolgt sie zur pseudoaugustinischen mittelalterlichen Predigt zurück, während sie aber viel weiter zurückdatiert. Diese Stelle findet sich schon in der Itala und beruht auf einer falschen Vokalisierung des unvokalisierten hebräischen Textes.[5] Das dem lat. *annorum* im Hebräischen entsprechende Wort (schānîm) kann wenn unvokalisiert auch *duorum* (schenáyim) bedeuten. Was also durch *in medio annorum* übersetzt werden sollte und von der Vulgata auch übersetzt worden ist, ist in der Itala durch *in medio duorum animalium* übertragen worden. Das Wort *animalium* haben die Kirchenväter in ihrem Eifer in jedem alttestamentlichen Wort einen Fingerzeig auf Christum zu finden hinzugefügt und den Text auf diese Weise verstümmelt.[6] In der Vulgata ist, wie eben erwähnt, der ursprüngliche Text wiederhergestellt worden, im Brevier aber ist die falsche Lesung immer noch anzutreffen; und es ist also aus seinem Gebetbuch und nicht aus seiner Bibel, dass sich der Verfasser des

[1] *Die Prophetensprüche und -zitate im religiösen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters* von Josef Rudwin. Dresden u. Leipzig, Verlag von C. Ludwig Ungelenk, 1913.

[2] Vgl. ibid. S. 20–21.

[3] Ibid. S. 37, Anm. 2 ist das richtige Gebet nicht angegeben.

[4] *Fragmenta Burana,* S. 50. Dieses Buch kam mir erst nach Abschluss meiner Schrift über die Prophetenszenen in die Hände. Das unrichtige Habakukzitat habe ich also unabhängig von Meyer entdeckt.

[5] Den Hinweis auf die Itala-Lesart wie die Auslegung des hebräischen Textes verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Jos. Molitor, Professor am Pontifical College Josephinum, Columbus, O.

[6] Die gleichlautende Stelle in der Septuaginta, *ἐν μέσῳ δύω ζώων γνωσθήσῃ,* wo die Itala ihre Version des hebr. Textes wahrscheinlich her hat, wird wohl eine patristische Interpolation sein, wenn wir sonst der Tradition Glauben schenken, die diese griechische Übersetzung jüdischen Gelehrten aus vorchristlicher Zeit zuschreibt. Es ist nebenbei interessant zu bemerken, wo die Sage von *Bos et Asinus* ihren Ursprung hat.

Alsfelder Passionsspieles diese Stelle hergeholt hat. Wie bei ihm ist das auch bei den anderen Dramatikern der Fall gewesen. Sie haben das Ritual der Kirche in ihren Dichtungen sehr reichlich benutzt.

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Le Romantisme en France au XVIII^e Siècle, par DANIEL MORNET. Paris, Hachette, 1912. X + 288 pp.

The present work of Mr. Mornet will command more than ordinary attention from students both of romanticism and of literary history in general, for aside from the interest which attaches to the specific subject treated, the book will doubtless be taken as a test of the value of that *méthode objective* represented by the author. Not the least significant part of this volume is therefore the brief *avertissement* which sets out its plan and scope and serves incidentally as the author's *apologia pro domo sua.*

"On ne pouvait rien écrire de précis, il y a dix ans, sur les origines lointaines du romantisme, et nous pourrions nous divertir à collectionner les erreurs ou opposer les contradictions. Leur histoire, au contraire, est aujourd'hui connue, et tous les problèmes essentiels sont résolus. On en trouvera pour une part l'étude méthodique dans un certain nombre de travaux que nous avons publiés depuis huit ans."

The author here gives us *in primis* a list of his own recent special studies, whose high scholarly character we take this occasion to commend, and the value of whose results, if properly handled and interpreted, we should be the first to recognize.

The exordium is somewhat controversial and would seem to condemn by implication, as imprecise and contradictory, the work of that pupil of Brunctière's, Texte, whose *J. J. Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme littéraire* was written in the dark ages of the nineties (1895). Since we are assured that all the essential problems have now been solved, we were justified in hoping that Mr. Mornet would give us something definite and more or less final on the distant origins of this much debated movement.

This is not the place to discuss whether literary history is or is not a science. It is safe to say, however, that in order to write that *quelque chose de précis* on the *origines lointaines du romantisme* the literary historian would need to have at his command the method of the exact sciences, the method, in other words, of experimental demonstration. One of the facts on which the author lays special emphasis and which is perhaps the most unique element in his book, is the importance which he assigns to the prevalence of the *jardin anglais* in France after 1750. He deals with it at length in his introduction and conclusion and refers to it repeatedly in the body of his work, and we may therefore safely assume that he intends it to throw some light on his problem. Mornet would doubtless be the first to admit that *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* is a romantic work. Yet, so far as we know, before the date of its composition Rousseau had never entered and had never seen an English garden.[1] If he had, the fact made so little impression on him that he fails to record it in the *Confessions.* This being true, the English garden was in no sense a source of romanticism, it did not seriously influence this most characteristic manifestation of its spirit, and in all probability was not even a necessary concomitant of the movement.[2] In order to tell

[1] There is a possibility that Rousseau had learned about English gardens from an article in the *Mercure*, 1750, mentioned by Mornet in his earlier work. Unless Stowe is there misspelled as Rousseau misspells it (*cf. infra*) it is more probable that he learned of them from hearsay. They were certainly new and strange to Diderot, Rousseau's friend until about the time of writing the *Julie*, as late as Sept. 20, 1765. (*Lettre à Sophie Volland* of that date.)

[2] In his earlier study, *Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J. J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint Pierre* (of which work the present volume seems in some parts to be a by-product and in others a repetition), Mornet tends to convey the impression that the *Elysée* of Rousseau's *Julie* is to be taken as an example, and perhaps the first example in French literature, of the English garden (p. 222). Rous-

whether or not the English garden had anything to do with the origin of romanticism, it would have to be possible for us to call back from the dead a recognized classicist, let us say La Fontaine, and living again in the Marquis de Girardin's garden, have him rewrite for us *Les deux Pigeons* or *Le Paysan du Danube*. If, all other things being equal, he wrote them differently, the measure of this difference would indicate the degree of importance which could be attached to this fact, and we could then write something precise.

It is not our purpose here to discuss in detail the facts set forth by Mr. Mornet. On this side he offers us little that is new, giving us for the most part merely synopses of recent investigations, very largely his own, which have already been reviewed here and elsewhere. With the present volume, he challenges attention not as a scholarly investigator but as a scientific literary historian. The truth of most of his facts, as facts, will be generally recognized. The question at stake is their value and proper interpretation in a history of the origins of romanticism.

However, in this matter of the English gardens we are told (pp. 30–31):

"A travers l'Ile-de-France et les provinces, les jardins anglais escaladèrent les collines et emplirent les vallons. Jardins modestes et 'grands comme un mouchoir de poche' tels que celui de Morellet et Marmontel à Auteuil, ou 'folies ruineuses' comme celles où le marquis de Brumoy dépense dix millions et Delaborde, à Méréville, seize millions. Parcs où s'harmonisent des beautés éloquentes, comme ceux d'Ermenonville chez le marquis de Girardin, et du Moulin-Joli, chez Watelet; ou fantaisies laborieuses et stupides de ceux qui mettent, nous dit Roucher, 'la nature en mascarade.' . . . Chantilly, Ermenonville sont illustres. On vient en pélerinage à Monceaux, à Bagatelle, au Moulin-Joli. La vallée de Montmorency s'emplit tout entière de chemins tournants et d'eaux bondissantes. Lyon imite Paris et Toulouse suit l'exemple de Lyon. Vingt traités, ceux de Watelet, Duchesne, Morel, Girardin, du Prince de Ligne, etc., prodiguent les estampes, les conseils techniques, les exhortations morales. Les poètes accordent leurs lyres."

This seems to us a serious overstatement of the facts. The author, had he chosen to use it more freely, had at his disposal a unique document with which to control his own opinion of the prevalence and importance of English gardens in France. Arthur Young, enthusiastic admirer of Rousseau and avowed lover of the romantic (he himself frequently uses the word), and the greatest eighteenth century authority on agriculture and gardening, travelled, at the close of the period under discussion, for sixteen months, through the entire extent of France, investigating the conditions, manner, and cost of living on French estates. That he was interested in the *jardins anglais* is plain from the manner in which he discusses those which he found. He speaks of them as a fashion recently introduced from England: "The taste is but just introduced into France, so that it will not stand a critical examina-

seau, at a later period, April 17, 1772, certainly took credit to himself for having been the first to introduce it (*Œuvres*, Vol. VI, p. 77). At this time Rousseau had probably forgotten, and curiously enough, Mornet seems to have overlooked the fact, that in the same letter in which St. Preux describes the *Elysée*, he indicates his disapproval of a recognized *jardin anglais*, "*le parc célèbre de milord Cobham à Staw* (Stowe)" (IV, 338). The *Elysée* had cost nothing, as Julie proudly explains (IV, 329) and can hardly be taken as anything more than a modest if fairly unique irregular or informal garden. Such irregular gardens could doubtless have been found around many Swiss châteaux and chalets. As a matter of fact, at about this same time (March, 1761) Voltaire, who was certainly no romanticist, was engaged in laying out gardens at Ferney which from his own description, bear, in certain respects, a remarkable similarity to the *Elysée*. They are totally different from other gardens, "*ne ressemblent à rien du tout*," and like Rousseau's description they too had "*des vignes en festons à perte de vue, presque rien de régulier*" (*Correspondance* IX, p. 236; also XIV, p. 279). If then there were classicists like Voltaire who built and were fond of irregular gardens, there were also characters of indubitably romantic temperament, like Mme. Roland, who disapproved of such famous gardens as Ermenonville. In the case of Rousseau's *Elysée*, therefore, it was evidently not the garden that begot the romanticist but the romanticist who begot the garden. If this is true, the sources and origins of romanticism must lie farther back and in things more fundamental. (For a fuller discussion of all these facts we refer however to Mornet's *Le Sentiment de la nature*, pp. 218–258.)

tion." This, written in 1787, would seem to indicate that most of them were considerably later than we would imply from Mornet, who says (p. 30): "Le XVIII[e] siecle, après 1760, s'empara d'elle avec une frénésie désordonnée." Yet in the record of his journeys, written day by day, Young seems to have noticed only eight such gardens,[3] several of which he dismisses with contempt. He mentions none in the neighborhood of Lyons and only one in the environs of Toulouse, that of M. Dubarry, of which he gives us the following account:

"As to the garden, it is beneath all contempt, except as an object to make a man stare at the efforts to which folly can arrive: in the space of an acre, there are hills of genuine earth, mountains of pasteboard, rocks of canvas: abbés, cows, sheep, and shepherdesses in lead; monkeys and peasants, asses and altars, in stone. Fine ladies and blacksmiths, parrots and lovers, in wood. Windmills and cottages, shops and villages, nothing excluded except nature."

As the narrative of his travels shows, Young possessed to a very high degree that love of nature which was one of the characteristics of the new movement. Yet the so-called "jardin anglais" in all but two cases (Ermenonville and Harcourt) struck him as a curiosity and an extravagance. He tells us also that there was, in 1789, a model of one, "most miserably imagined," in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This would hardly have been the case had they been so well known and common that they "scaled the heights and filled the valleys" of the Ile-de-France and the provinces. Moreover, certain of the possessors of these gardens were by no means romantic in temperament, and we cannot understand the importance which Mornet assigns to them in the history of romanticism. We might with equal cogency and scientific precision argue that the Romans were more romantic than the Greeks since they built elaborate villas on the hills and by the sea, whereas the Greeks did not. And so far from being a source or cause of romanticism we might with equal justice explain the character and success of *Hernani* on the score of Gautier's long hair and notorious red waistcoat.

We might further have expected that an author making pretensions to scientific rigor and precision would begin with some more or less clear-cut and inclusive definition or formulation of the phenomenon whose distant origins he is trying to explain. Such is not the case. Instead of any central definition under which the various aspects of romanticism might have been subsumed and explained, we are given a number of partial formulations. These attempts at definition show that Mr. Mornet is far from clear on the subject and that he has been much impressed by that anti-romantic campaign of recent years. We have gathered together the significant statements given by the way:

"L'oeuvre de Rousseau et des romantiques fut néfaste, si l'on veut. Il est aisé, comme on l'a fait, de suivre les progrès du mal romantique" (p. 273). "Nous rappellerons seulement pour conclure, que Rousseau, Young, Ossian et Werther ne furent ni les seuls ni les premiers coupables. Ils ont aggravé le mal et précipité tout au plus ses ravages" (p. 274). On the same page, however, we are assured, that it was "le rêve de citadins fatigués des salons et des conventions du monde; . . . le rêve tout aussi bien de ceux qui voulurent des vies moins frivoles et plus morales." Again we are told that "Le romantisme au XVIII[e] siècle fut avant tout le goût profond de la nature" (p. 275). "Le romantisme est autre chose qu'une évolution des mœurs; c'est une polémique de gens de lettres qui renient leur constitution" (p. 177). "Mal du siècle, lâche orgueil des pessimismes, mépris des vies courageuses que l'on dit banales, ce sont les plaies du romantisme que l'on dénonce obstinément. Le romantisme est cela, peut-être. Dès qu'il bouleversa les jardins les germes funestes fermentèrent, si l'on veut, pour distiller les poisons certains. Pourtant le mal au XVIII[e] siècle ne semble qu'un accident" (p. 146). "Le romantisme ce sont les émotions légères et douces qui furent chères à Saint-Preux, c'est le cœur qui s'ouvre aux 'tristesses délicieuses'; c'est la vie secrète des solitudes et du silence. C'est la rêverie et la mélancolie" (p. 92).

The "goût profond de la nature" and the dream of those who desired less frivolous and more moral lives are of course neither 'néfaste'

[3] Young's *Travels in France*, London, Reprint of 1913, pp. 11, 33, 82, 86, 87, 101, 118, 191.

nor 'un mal.' We have already discussed the absurdly exaggerated importance which the author attributes to the introduction of the English garden and which he here looks upon as the signal of the approaching dissolution (p. 146). But since it is impossible to weld such contradictions into any consistent whole, we may for a moment consider the definition which seems to be fullest and most precise, that of p. 92. If we submit it to an empiric test by attempting to fit it to the work of recognized romanticists of the generation of 1830, we shall readily be convinced of its inadequacy. Hugo, for instance, who describes himself in the person of Hernani as "une force qui va," did not deal primarily with the 'émotions légères et douces,' nor did the heart of the author of *Le Pas d'Armes du Roi Jean* open by preference to 'tristesses délicieuses.' Neither was the author of *Notre Dame de Paris* an expounder of 'la vie secrète des solitudes et du silence,' and if he occasionally indulged in revery, the Hugo of 1830 was not by nature melancholy. In fact, according to this principle of classification, he was not a romanticist at all. Either we must reject this definition or else the romanticism here discussed is not that of typical authors generally recognized as romantic. The unsatisfactory character of the definitions is indicative of a fundamental weakness in Mr. Mornet's method. He thinks he is explaining when he is merely describing, and his descriptions are far from exhaustive.

Aside from the English garden, Mr. Mornet adduces as origins of romanticism the increased fondness for passion and its "douceurs mortelles," in real life, the prevalence of "âmes vagabondes," the frequent employment of the language of passion in literature around and shortly before 1750, the fact that readers now began to prefer "la fidélité des peintures où la vie réelle se reflète," the English influence and the love of nature. In substantiation he cites detached sentences, especially from the minor novelists of that period, such as le chevalier de Bastide, le chevalier de Mouhy, and Thibouville. We must object in the first place that these facts, if they really possess significance, are not the origins or sources of romanticism; the origins or sources of romanticism lie in the causes of these phenomena, which are already its results and the more or less vague indications of its presence. In the second place these phenomena are not as new in French literary history as the author would have us believe.

The "douceurs mortelles" of passionate attachments in real life could easily be found in the preceding century, witness the life history of Molière, that of the amazing Mlle. de la Force, who dressed as a gypsy exhibitor of bears in order to gain admittance to the court of her lover's hôtel, the Duchesse de Mazarin who drew the blinds and starved herself to death when her lover began to show signs of fondness for her daughter, and a little later in the early thirties, the Claude Anet of the *Confessions* who swallowed opium after having been wounded by a word of his mistress. Yet no literary historian has ever seen in the peasant of Moutru a precursor or inventor of romanticism. All these and doubtless hundreds of others, unknown to history, had in that earlier period experienced the "bouleversements de la passion" and its "douceurs mortelles."

As for the freer use in literature of the language of passion, Mr. Mornet cites as something especially striking a passage from de Mouhy:

> "Il arrive bien pis au commandeur de . . . lorsqu'il voit pour la première fois sa bien-aimée; pâleur mortelle, tremblement universel, démarche chancelante, abattement, faiblesse ou plutôt 'extinction presque totale' de son bon sens et de ses forces" (p. 6).

Far from being new, this is one of the oldest literary conventions and runs back certainly as far as the account of the meeting of Dante and Beatrice in the *Vita Nuova* of which it seems an almost exact transcription.

As for the dreamy, melancholy, love-sick hero, he too could be found. We would cite only the *Dragut* and *Lautrec* of Mlle. de la Force's *Histoire de la Reine de Navarre.* In the same volume, Mlle. de la Force speaks of "la musique et la mélancolie de l'amour."

With regard to revery, why not have mentioned La Fontaine's so characteristic

Car que faire en un gîte, à moins que l'on ne songe?

On these phases of his subject, Mr. Mornet would have found a great deal that is significant in Waldberg's *Der Empfindsame Roman in Frankreich,* a work which he neither cites nor mentions in his bibliography here or in his earlier volume.

With regard to the "fidélité des peintures où la vie réelle se reflète," he would have found much of it a century earlier in a work which, curiously enough, he completely ignores, Scarron's *Roman Comique.* It is also to be found in the *Vraye Histoire Comique de Francion* (1622), which certainly met with popular approval since it was sixty times reprinted in the seventeenth century, as well as in *Le Baron de Faeneste* (1617–1620), and in Théophile's *Fragments d'Histoire Comique.* Furthermore, in the *Roman Comique* of Scarron, Destin's romantic story of his love for the beautiful Léonore foreshadows the later Graziellas quite as completely as anything Mr. Mornet gives us in his period. Nor are such indications of realism absent from the poetry of *le grand siècle.* In this connection we cannot do better than cite a passage from Fournel, which though written many years ago, is as true now as it was then:

"Du reste, pendant les premières années du XVII[e] siècle, il y a déjà comme un courant de réalité dans l'air par un naturel esprit de réaction contre les tendances opposées qui commençaient à se manifester, et qui devaient régner principalement de 1650 à 1680. On trouve dans G. Colletet, dans Théophile, dans les poésies détachées de Saint-Amant, et même dans son *Moïse Sauvé,* comme plus tard dans *La Pucelle* de Chapelain, une manie de descriptions minutieuses dont s'est moqué Boileau et qui ne recule pas toujours devant les détails où la familiarité devient triviale et la trivialité grotesque et repoussante."

If the sources and origins of romanticism are to be sought in these isolated phenomena, Mr. Mornet should have sought them not in the eighteenth but in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, if he really intended to throw light on its causes, he should have explained *why* the English influence reached such vast proportions in the eighteenth century when for literary history it was negligible in the seventeenth. The external cause of this English influence, the forced emigration to the north of 200,000 independently-minded French citizens after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he would have found in Texte's admirable study which he mentions only in his bibliography, and whose significant conclusions he does not seem to have taken seriously. As for the real origins of the growth of nature-feeling, he would have found much to his purpose in Friedländer's excellent work,[4] which, like Texte's, was written considerably more than ten years ago. This he fails to mention even in his bibliography to *Le Sentiment de la nature.*

Men do not create a new literature until they have become dissatisfied with the old. Why French classicism failed to satisfy the public of 1750 we are not told. It is never even hinted that the eighteenth century believed in progress and that the seventeenth did not, and that therefore merely in order to keep abreast of the trend of the times it was necessary, as Chénier tells us in his *L'Invention,* to change the literary forms and materials. There is nothing to explain the return to mediaevalism, though the answer is to be found in the importance which Mme. de Staël was shortly to assign to chivalry and Christianity as basic factors in modern life. We would not know from Mornet that the reading public to whom this literature was addressed had changed in its personnel and that its creators were not servants of the king but for the most part independent men of letters, whose social and political environment was unsatisfactory. He sees no connection between the movement that begot the new literature and the new political régime, in fact, does not once mention the Revolution, and sees nothing of consequence in Rousseau's "paradoxes sociaux." And yet the discontent which begot the *Discours* was much the same discontent, certainly the same disposition,

[4] *Ueber die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Gefühls für das Romantische in der Natur.* Leipzig, 1873.

which begot the new literature, the new government, and the new society. Rousseau, a far better literary historian in this respect than Mornet, and with a keener sense of underlying causes, gives at least one of the reasons when he tells us that in Paris there are "cinq ou six cent mille âmes dont il n'est jamais question sur la scène." (Vol. IV, p. 172.)

So, too, long before Rousseau, Scarron had recorded his discontent when he decides for the "roman plus à notre usage et plus selon la portée de l'humanité que ces héros imaginaires de l'antiquité qui sont quelquefois incommodes à force d'être trop honnêtes gens" (*Roman Comique,* Partie I, Chap. XXI).

The reasons which begot this dissatisfaction with the old were the first causes which impelled both author and audience to seek something "plus à notre usage et plus selon la portée de l'humanité." Even with regard to the theatre there are protests in the seventeenth century against the unities, especially the unity of time, which are not referred to by Mr. Mornet. They are to be found, among others, in Ogier [5] or again in Scarron,[6] and in Claveret.[7] In this history of the causes of discontent with the old regime and its reflection in literature, here nowhere touched upon, are in our opinion to be sought "*les origines lointaines du romantisme.*" And why romanticism took the particular form that it did must be explained out of the general trends of thought, here likewise completely ignored. Locke and sensationalism, for instance, are never once mentioned in the work. These fundamental conditions and underlying trends and tendencies which might have given unity to his work and provided him with a basis for definition seem to lie entirely outside his field. Instead of the precise information on the history of romanticism promised us in the *avertissement* he has given us instead certain chapters in the history of French manners, some of which are germane and some of which are not. Only a complete disregard of underlying causes and their relative importance could allow a literary historian to attach such serious importance to comparative trivialities, like the English garden here everywhere raised to a position of the first importance, and to give us the following in his conclusion:

"Morellet ou Marmontel ne songent à écrire ni des Obermann, ni des René; mais ils se plaisent à faire de leur jardin d'Auteuil un jardin anglais dont les libres verdures auraient pu plaire à René ou à Obermann. On ne rime ni *le Lac* ni *le Vallon,* ni *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne,* ni *les Orientales;* mais les voyageurs et les promeneurs vont chercher sur les rives de Genève, de Thun, de Neuchâtel, d'Annecy, les rêveries crépusculaires" (p. 271).

Personally we do not believe that Obermann, that lover of the wild, who hid in a cave far from men, would have had anything but the profoundest contempt for Marmontel's artificial little garden; and as for pleasing Chateaubriand, considering his personality, it would be safer as a general rule to say that anything which pleased anyone else would not have pleased René.

We regret that the author should so completely ignore Fénelon's influence. He does not, for instance, tell us, that in the *Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie* (1716), we have outlined a program which includes a number of the elements of romantic poetry. This fact would perhaps cause him certain difficulties since the *Lettre* was written long before English gardens were instituted, or even dreamed of, in France.

In conclusion, we will call attention to a few inaccuracies of presentation. The book is illustrated with sixteen plates, one of them (p. 74) a reproduction of the notorious "Young enterrant sa fille," which served in Letourneur's translation as frontispiece of the *Nuits.* Since it is published here without comment it might mislead. The incident of the burial as there represented is pure fiction, a lugubrious hoax perpetrated on the public by Young himself, and the currency given to this "romantic" story of the persecuted poet Young with his own hands burying his daughter alone at night in a neglected cemetery perhaps had as much

[5] Preface to *Tyr et Sidon.* Bib. Elzévirienne, No. 11, p. 13.

[6] *Roman Comique,* Partie I, Chap. XXI.

[7] *Traité de la disposition du poème dramatique.*

to do with his celebrity in France as did his works.

"Le goût pour les ruines gothiques, pour les sépulcres que hantent les fantômes s'unit aux souvcnirs d'Ossian et ébaucha déjà les nuits hallucinées où se complairont les lecteurs de Walter Scott" (p. 119). There are few or no such 'nuits hallucinées' in Scott, who was abovc all virile; there are in Coleridge, and the sort of thing hcre referred to might be found in the German romanticists.

We find (pp. 183–184) the statement: "Mais tous [manuels, traités, encyclopédies] citent Boileau avec respect and restent dociles à son esprit." Diderot, in his own Encyclopaedia, speaks with scant respect of "ce versificateur Boileau," and some of Mr. Mornet's later references likewise tend to contradict this assertion.

Pages 219–224 deal with what the eighteenth-century writers and critics called "la poésie lyrique." When eighteenth-century writers speak of the *poème lyrique,* they usually mean merely a poem to be set to music and the phrase denotes the madrigals of La Motte or Fontenelle much more truly than poems like *Le Vallon* or *Les Nuits.* This should have been brought out more clearly.

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Nietzsche and Art. By ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI. Boston: John W. Luce and Co., 1912. $1.50.

One advantage of being a Nietzschean is that it enables one to speak authoritatively on all subjccts, to impose one's master-mind, one's "ruler" qualities, one's "wil to power," on all inferior beings. The tone of the superman is what annoys onc in all such works and is that which wil ultimately prevent thc Filosofer from coming into his own: for thc unconverted superman wil rebel and destroy—as is his right—and the awed inferior being wil flee away to that destruction which is advised for him as one of thc too, too many. This wil, in either case, leave the Nietzschean filosofer without the audience for his preachments, and surely without that worship which his general assumption of the only "wil to power" seems to demand.

In Ludovici's book, clever and deliteful as it is, the same general assumption of indifference to historical fenomena, to the other man's point of view and psychology ar apparent. Paradoxical as it may seem, this stimulating work is hard to take seriusly. Its very arrogation of the profetic tone, the beginning of each chapter with a scriptural citation and the cnding of each—obviusly as a climax—with a quotation to be regarded as of inspirational force from "Thus Spake Zarathustra," giv the layman pause. One feels the danger of dout, for one wud be clast among the supermen; one longs to agree and thus leave the mass of obeyers and join the few chance products—"sports" they ar cald in botany—who alone can galvanize the ded masses of the ordinary. But one's unfortunate democracy makes one suspect that there is something in this aristocratizm which is a "fake," and that the superman is often nothing but a defeated Titan, and not a Titan in the Woodberry sense of the term either!

But it is perfectly obvius that there is something the matter with our present art values. The confusion in all the arts, the babble about great names, the rediness to run after strange gods, to post-future the futurists, to raise to the *n*-th power the cubists, to gape at pseudo art and to over-emfasize technik, ar sines of a decay in our creativ power. But whether we see thc cause in extension of Christian morality—Nietzsche's slave morality—or in science, or in the acceptance of the theory of evolution, it is by no means clear, because Nietzsche says so, that the lay mind is the helpless mind and that the "ruler artist" is the imposer of beauty and the creator of esthetic values in a race. The Nietzschean doctrin of the "wil to power" may hold good in the intentions of an artist, and as an explanation of his unconscius hold on his civilization at its best, but it is too late in the history of the world to evaluate art only as an abstraction and the artist as the sole abstractor. The error of Ludovici is in supposing, as a con-

sistent Nietzschean of course, that the artist is independent of his age. It must be insisted on that he is a product of it, and as long as one holds to this point, one rejects all that Ludovici offers as to the function, the significance and the process of art. Within the bounds of his premises, the author is usually undeniably right, but these premises counteract all that our experience teaches us to be true of the workings of the human mind. One must reject categorically the notion that art values ar created and do not grow out of the life of the people, for the artist is an interpreter. Each artist interprets the soul of his people, in poetry, in the plastic and pictorial arts, in music and architecture. If he is a failure (from this point of view), it is because his people hav no message for the future, granted that there be any people with no message—and not that he himself has failed to rise to the ruler-artist tipe. But one does not grant even that: one insists that in each race or stratum, there is some necessary note which goes to make up the sum total of human experience: one insists uncompromizingly on the function of realism, either for its own sake, as a manifestation of life, or as a *pou sto* for a future idealism.

Certain specific points in Ludovici's book ar worth noting: in denying the evolutionary origins of art in imitation, he fails to take into account the two tipes of savage civilization: the one, the primitiv undeveloped savage who has racially never risen; the other, the savage whose race is in a stage of ethnological decay. In the origins of grafic art, as in dancing, lyric poetry, and in the choric arts in general, one has to be careful to distinguish remnants from origins, or better, from notes which ar indicativ of real beginnings. The same is true of language, where highly inflected forms ar not always the sine of an advanced civilization: witness Sanskrit and Finnish. This distinction is not made by Ludovici, who thus throws confusion into his whole argument. To substitute for anthropological data an emotional or inspirational origin for art is to go backward and not forward.

Ludovici's definition of beauty is also narro. He regards it as possible only in the human form, as Lessing did a century and a half ago, and says that it exists only within the confines of a particular race. It is absolute within that race until the race becomes anthropologically impure; then its ideals waver. Therefore, the serch for absolute beauty must be in those pure races which hav molded civilization and of these, according to Ludovici, the Egyptian stands highest. Leaving aside the very doutful proposition that the Egyptian race was a pure race, with an absolutely homogeneus civilization, what is the result for the canon of beauty from a study of this art? The requirements postulated ar perfect, and the best of the book is the summing up of the demands of the best art under the six captions: symmetry, sobriety, simplicity, transfiguration, repetition, and variety. But is Egyptian art, with all its tipe forms, with its elimination of the characteristic, the only art which at all satisfies Ludovici's requirements? Ludovici does not advocate a romantic return to what mite be cald Nilism, but rejects all art that emfasizes in any way the individual. What if, as Nietzsche wud hav it, the greatest weakness of the present day is its inability to resist emotional stimuli? If this weakness is a source of beauty, is it not capable of producing art? To reject as non-existent a fase like our modern sensationalism because it does not fit into an ideal sceme, is nonsense! To reject realism as "police art" and romanticism as weakness, is to deny the whole value of personality, which may be good Nietzsche but is not good observation of living conditions. The vitiation of personality is that which must be resisted to the deth.

The qualities of calm repose, the tipe qualities which Ludovici sees in Egyptian art, were postulated for Greece by Lessing long ago, and it was Herder who first saw rightly the weakness of Lessing's position. If the modern man requires more, if his nature is more nervus, if his reaction is that of the hairtrigger, he cannot be rejected by the historian on that account any more than the peace advocate can reject wars or the abstinence reformer, alcoholism. And to reject the landscape and the

portrait, as Lessing and Ludovici do, bases art on an assumption that is no longer tenable, namely that the human form is the sole or at least the highest object of artistic endevor.

It is not because we ar loose thinkers that we admire the landscape, where the ancients and Dr. Johnson did not. It is that our civilization has sertain comforts in the way of travel and convenience that make it possible for us to lose some of the teror in nature and to enjoy where the ancients demonized it. Professor Fischer long ago pointed out that the enjoyment of the winter landscape was largely a matter of warm underwear and the Greek chiton is no costume in which to admire an Alpine view. The capacity for enjoyment grows; what the mature mind has to find is the right thing for the nation to enjoy. To do this he must rise with and above his race, as Ludovici rightly points out, but not as a mere impresser of extraneous idealism, not as a smoother of all ruf places, but as an interpreter of the civilization from which he rises.

Ludovici's book is well worth reading. It has a mass of stimulating aforisms, and tho the author comes perilusly near the ridiculus in his constructiv section on Egyptian art, he has plenty to say on the canker in our body esthetic. It is the tipe of book in which one constantly makes marginal comment: the highest compliment one can pay to a work, for it is a sine that one is being spurd on to think.

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VICTOR HUGO

Le Cénacle de Joseph Delorme, par LÉON SÉCHÉ. I. *Victor Hugo et les Poètes.* II. *Victor Hugo et les Artistes.* Paris: Mercure de France, 1912. 2 vols. 403 and 303 pp.

Les Pamphlets contre Victor Hugo, par ALBERT DE BERSAUCOURT. Paris: Mercure de France, 1912. 393 pp.

Mr. Séché presents two collections of articles on the Romantic period. The titles suggest that Hugo is a central figure, and in the first series this is the case, but in the second, where nearly all the space is given to the artists, the name of the volume is misleading. The tables of contents of the two books show a great variety of topics and serve to notify the reader that he must be prepared to wander into many a by-path, yet the material proves to be as valuable as it is miscellaneous.

While the author has achieved considerable success in the ordering of his chapters, there are a few instances of unnecessary and ineffective repetition. Thus, he discusses twice (I, 321; 368) Vigny's statement at the first presentation of *Hernani:* "Aux fureurs littéraires qui m'agitent je comprends les fureurs politiques de 93"; he describes twice (I, 104; 268–269) the tribute Dumas paid Sainte-Beuve by placing several stanzas from *Joseph Delorme* in *Henri III et sa cour,* and he explains each time that "Mignonne, allons voir si la rose" was substituted after the first performance. In at least two cases (I, 88–89 and 112–113; II, 66 and 108–109) he gives a long quotation twice when a single citation and cross references would have been better. There are several references to illustrations which are nowhere to be found in these volumes (I, 70; II, 85; II, 163). Especially disconcerting is the instance where the reader is invited to study the character of the Johannot brothers in a portrait not here reproduced (II, 208–209).[1]

Several times the solutions offered for moot problems are not convincing. For example, Mr. Séché considers (Vol. I, Ch. 1) the tradition that Chateaubriand, after reading Hugo's ode on the death of the Duc de Berry, called the young poet "enfant sublime." He decides that the necessary facts are not available and that a final decision, a mathematical proof, is not possible. Yet surely Chateaubriand did say it, he continues, adducing the fact that already in the Twenties the remark was currently attributed to Chateaubriand and was taken seriously by everyone. Again (I, 242–243), he examines the origin of the word "Trissotisme" used by Henri de Latouche in a refer-

[1] Another imprint of the two volumes, also issued in 1912, does contain these illustrations.

ence to Romanticism, and thinks Vigny may have been responsible for it. His reasons, which seem far from adequate, are the friendship of Latouche and Vigny and the fact that Sainte-Beuve, who was well posted on the intrigues of the moment, said later: "Vigny n'est qu'un Trissotin gentilhomme."

But these are exceptional cases in a production the merits of which quite outweigh the defects. On the basis of unedited documents Mr. Séché has been able to correct errors of previous writers and to present some material that is wholly new. He points out many inaccurate statements in that eminently unreliable book, *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*. He reveals a multitude of mistakes made by Edmond Biré,—in which connection it is to be noted how much feeling a discussion of Hugo seems inevitably to arouse, for, like his predecessors, Mr. Séché is unable to remain objective, and, in criticising Biré, he cannot refrain from several slightly malicious thrusts.

Of the new material a good example is the chapter on "David d'Angers et Aloysius Bertrand," which contains letters of the last-named that give a striking picture of his high-strung, romantic, impractical and irresponsible nature, and of the big-heartedness of David. In another case, Mr. Séché, with the help of unedited papers, destroys several legends about the rôle of Gautier at the first performance of *Hernani*, and presents new facts about the relations of Gautier and Hugo, and about Gérard de Nerval. A document which purports to reproduce Sainte-Beuve's account of the part he played in the conspiracy against Louis Philippe in 1832 will require confirmatory evidence before it can be accepted, but it is at least worth attention.

Most interesting of all is the picture of the men of 1827–30, and especially of Hugo. One is made to feel the abundant vitality, the driving force, of the members of the second *Cénacle*. As to the relation of Hugo to these men, Mr. Séché gives an apt illustration when he says (II, 104): "Et je ne m'étonne pas que Victor Hugo, qui déjà songeait à capter toutes les sources pour les faire passer par son moulin, ait ouvert à deux battants les portes du Cénacle aux artistes qui avaient embrassé comme lui, et même avant lui, les idées nouvelles." This passage suggests the characteristic of Hugo which at every turn confronts the reader, his egoism. The testiness of Hugo, his indignation at venturesome critics, his unwillingness to abide contradiction, which are here described, show the stress he puts upon his own importance; he is seen to adapt himself to his surroundings with an eye to his own advancement; his admiration for those who write him commendatory letters is marked. A multitude of examples might be cited. It cannot be said that they throw new light on Hugo, but they do corroborate, in a startling way, what is already known about the great poet's defects. It is perhaps the chief merit of these volumes that this subject is handled with such fairness and judgment.

If it is largely fortuitous, in the case of Mr. Séché, that his material leads him to remarks unfavorable to Hugo, it is the avowed purpose of Mr. Bersaucourt, in his abstracts of some fifty of "Les Pamphlets contre Victor Hugo," to present hostile criticism. He desires to bring out above all the bitterness of the attacks, and for this his bare summaries are sufficient, but his policy of refraining from comment results in a failure to grasp several opportunities for a suggestive interpretation of important pamphlets.

One of the most purposeful and significant of these, if indeed it may be called a pamphlet, is the two-volume criticism of *Les Misérables* by Eugène de Mirecourt. After a preface that is an interesting example of how Hugo's pompous declarations were frequently parodied, Mirecourt proceeds to criticise the novelist at length for the improbability of his story, which he believes Hugo to have written from a desire to overthrow society and create for himself the position of a leader. It is the exaggeration prompted by such motives, and not any sinning against the laws of art, that he impugns. He despises both Hugo and his doctrines. Evidently he represents the attitude of many of his generation. While the present age is ready to believe that Hugo, in writing *Les Misérables*,

was for the moment altogether honest, that his charity, whether emotional and temporary or not, was sincere, and that his ideals for social betterment, if not his methods, were sound, a formidable group of his contemporaries, like Mirecourt, had no faith in him and honestly distrusted pleas for the education and the enlightenment of the lower classes. In this lengthy pamphlet many real defects are laid bare. Yet Mirecourt in his irritation becomes petty. He does not help his case when he cites, as a proof that learning and virtue do not go together, the fact that Thénardier had studied to be a priest, that his obnoxious wife had read novels and that his wretched daughters had been to boarding-school. And he gets so exasperated as to allow himself a reference to Hugo's marital infidelity, a thing that is rare even in these diatribes.

Other pamphleteers are quite as earnest as Mirecourt, but different in their methods. Charles Farcy, in his "Lettre à M. Victor Hugo, suivie d'un projet de charte," is suavely sarcastic. He pretends to become a convert to the new ideas; he finally realizes that just as the Revolution established the right of the insignificant to hold property, Romanticism is developing "la petite propriété littéraire." From a desire to be a useful neophyte he tells the Romanticists confidentially what their enemies are saying, and as a final proof of the sincerity of his conversion he draws up for his new friends a set of laws. These are typical (p. 39):

"Tout romantique devra oublier, s'il a eu le malheur d'en faire, ses études classiques. Il parlera cependant des siècles de Périclès, d'Auguste, de Léon X et de Louis XIV, mais de manière à faire voir qu'il ne les connaît pas du tout."

"La qualité de romantique se perdra par le moindre acte littéraire où il y aura apparence de bon sens et de raison."

The parodies of Hugo are many; some of them are diverting, some extremely stupid, a few suggest a deep insight into the poet's weaknesses. The following is supposed to be a sample of his "manner" (p. 16):

Tout est ombre la nuit
Rivale du soleil, du soleil œil qui luit
Le jour, comme un lampion; le lampion, c'est la vie;
L'inerte, c'est la mort; la mort la parodie
De tout ce qui vécut. . . .

It cannot be said that Mr. Bersaucourt has welded his descriptions of these pamphlets into a well-made book. In the first place, the reader finds it difficult to discover any system in the presentation of the material. The author explains at the outset that he is not seeking organic unity, not attempting "un docte travail d'ensemble," and it therefore becomes doubly important that he indicate immediately his method of classification, yet neither the table of contents and the introduction nor the title of the first chapter, "Quelques Pamphlets," are helpful. As a matter of fact, he discusses first the pamphlets which are general in character and then those which attack specific productions, an arrangement that is purely mechanical, and not irreproachable, since a certain entanglement of subjects results. Secondly, there are several digressions, which are peculiarly out of place in a book that is, by its very nature, loose-jointed. The description of Hugo's efforts to enter the Academy is not necessary to the comprehension of the pamphlet under discussion, and has no independent value, since it is merely a cumbersome recapitulation of Legay's account in *Victor Hugo jugé par son siècle*.[2] The long quotation from the *Journal des Goncourt* is quite out of a clear sky. A number of awkward transitions and an inclination to dwell on the obvious strengthen the impression of poor workmanship. Finally, Mr. Bersaucourt's habit of referring to Hugo in such terms as "l'auteur des Orientales," "le poète des Contemplations," becomes so fixed that it is quite as monotonous as the frequent repeating of Hugo's name, which he thus avoids, and when he chooses these epithets with no regard for the context, mentioning Hugo, apropos of *Bug Jargal* (p. 60), as "l'auteur d'Hernani," and, apropos of *Hernani* (p. 5), as "le poète de la Légende des Siècles," the procedure is little short of ridiculous.

[2] Paris, Librairie de la Plume, 1902.

For college classes, where the desire may be simply to illustrate the cleverness, the variety and the malice of the attacks upon Hugo, the book offers interesting examples. Otherwise its value is slight. There is a convenient inventory of pamphlets in an appendix, but the list of parodies which Mr. Bersaucourt draws up in the chapter on drama is less complete than that of Blanchard,[3] published eight years earlier. The absence of information about the authors of the pamphlets is disappointing.

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Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Castellana, por FEDERICO HANSSEN. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1913. 8vo., xiv + 367 pp.

In 1910 Hanssen published a *Spanische Grammatik auf historischer Grundlage,* of which the present book is a revised version. Nevertheless, by a remarkable oversight or intent, the *Gramática Histórica* contains scarcely a mention of the author's previous book. Indeed the chief criticism to be made against the new and valuable study is the lack of an adequate title page and the total lack of an introduction or preface giving the reader some idea of the aim, scope and special features of the book. The lack of prefatory material does not mean, however, that the author has failed to utilize the reviews of the German edition. References to these reviews are cited in many instances and show especially the importance attached to that of Lang in *Romanic Review,* II (1911).

The most notable changes in the revised version of the grammar are: (1) Treatment of syntax as a separate section instead of in conjunction with individual chapters of morphology; (2) study of the verb as the last of the inflected parts of speech instead of as the first; (3) consecutive numbering of paragraphs, instead of the use of numeral divisions and subdivisions; (4) addition of rubrics for each paragraph and section; (5) addition of three new chapters, "La formación nominal" (pp. 121–155), "La formación verbal" (pp. 155–162), "Los compuestos" (pp. 162–172). The presence of these last named chapters accounts for the fact that the word-index of the volume is enlarged about forty per cent. On the bibliographical side, this new edition maintains the high standard of the earlier work. Not only have we a revision of the bibliography of the individual chapters or sections, but the introductory chapter (entitled "Abreviaturas") has been brought up to date for the critical studies, and has been considerably extended in the matter of illustrative texts.

The book as a whole has already attained high rank in its original form; in the revised translation its value is still further increased by the many judicious changes and additions.

In a work of such broad scope as Hanssen's *Gramática,* we naturally find variation in the method of treating or estimating the more fundamental questions of historical grammar. In the following remarks I add a few suggestions regarding method of treatment and individual details. As in the German edition, the description of the Spanish sounds is accurate, but the treatment of physiological development of these sounds is meagre indeed. In other words, while the sound changes are correctly tabulated, the explanations of these changes are often inadequate or entirely lacking. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. In § 53 we read that "en la segunda parte del siglo XIV *ie* seguido de *ll* se convirtió en *i: Castiella>Castilla, martiello>martillo.*" This is true but the change itself is due to the fact that in the XIV century the *ll* had become palatalized and thus made possible the vowel change. In the same paragraph we find that "en palabras de poco acento, *ie* puede llegar á ser *i,*" but the examples cited in illustration (*dizetres, dizesiete, disiocho*) show that the following dental sibilant was an important factor in the change. The vocalization of *l* (*al* + cons.) is recorded (§§ 92, 136) but there is no mention of the back *l* in this connection. As one further illustration of the point in question compare the treatment of Foerster's

[3] *Le Théâtre de Victor Hugo et la Parodie,* Amiens, 1904.

Law (§ 57) on the basis of such general terms as 'alterar' and 'mutación.'

Another general feature of the book deserves comment, namely, the use of such general references as "hemos hablado arriba" (cf. §§ 676, 687, 695, 715, etc.) instead of specific cross references. Finally, the use of the term 'vocal de apoyo' (or some similar equivalent for *Stützvokal* or *voyelle d'appui*) would have clarified the treatment of both final and medial *e* after certain consonant groups; cf. especially §§ 62, 67. In the following remarks I offer in tabulated form a few comments on individual paragraphs of the grammar.

§ 1. The only works recommended as "gramáticas prácticas" are the Academy and the Bello-Cuervo grammars. The grammars of Wiggers and Ramsey might well have a place in this section.

§ 13. To the studies of Germanic influence, add Meyer-Lübke, *Die altportugiesischen Personennamen germanischen Ursprungs,* in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. CXLIX* (1905).

§ 48. The diphthong in *nieve, nieva* may show influence of *hielo, hiela.*

§ 65. In connection with *norabuena,* cf. *nemiga, namorar.*

§ 66. While the words *ángel* and *apóstol* may be vocatives, it seems more probable that they show apocope of final *o* due to close syntactical combination with a following proper name; thus, *el ángel Gabriel, el apóstol Santiago;* compare *capitán, ermitan, Fernan, Bernald,* and other examples quoted in § 72.

§§ 94–102. These paragraphs treat such phenomena of "Prosodia" as dieresis, elision, crasis, synalepha and even proclisis, but do not include that most striking Old Spanish phenomenon, enclisis. In § 173 this latter phenomenon is treated, but in quite a summary manner.

§ 92, entitled "Consonantes que se convierten en *u,*" should mention the group, *cautivo, bautismo,* etc. Cf. § 160.

§ 104. It is worthy of note that Latin initial *h* disappears not only as a sound but also as a written symbol.

§ 110. *San Çalvador* (which occurs in *Cid,* 2924) is explained by Ford as due to the interpolation of *t* between the *n* and *s* of *San Salvador.* This explanation of the *Ç* has been retained by Hanssen. It is more probable that the original form was *Sant Salvador,* and considering the close syntactical relation of the two words we have already at hand the authentic *ts* as an explanation of the *Ç* in *Çalvador.* For similar cases of fusion of *Sant* with the following noun, cf. *Santillana, Santiago* and even *San Telmo.* In the same paragraph (as well as in § 630) Hanssen overlooks Ford's interesting etymology of *quizá;* namely *qui te sapit* (cf. *Old Spanish Readings,* p. 79), which furnishes an etymon having the necessary *ts* element.

§ 121. While XIII century documents show a final *d* (<Latin intervocalic *t*), this *d* was probably voiceless. The orthographic *d* of *rogad* is by influence of *rogades,* just as the final *d* of *verdad* is due to the plural *verdades.*

§ 126. Spanish *ll* has become *ž* not only in Buenos Ayres and New Mexico, but also in certain parts of San Salvador and Mexico.

§ 153. In regard to the fall of *s* in popular speech of the early period, a bit of evidence may be added to the valuable material presented by Lang, in *Rom. Rev.* II, 335. In his discussion of the Spanish proverb, *Otro erramos,* Correas states that the real meaning of the expression is *Otro es Ramos,* and adds, as an item of seventeenth-century pronunciation, that "la *s* antes de la r, se come" (cf. *Vocabulario de Refranes,* p. 159a).

§ 156. In connection with the epenthetic *n* might be mentioned the not infrequent cases where this *n* appears before a dental or dento-palatal consonant, at times showing the additional influence of a neighboring nasal; cf. *ponçana, manzana, muncho,* etc.

§ 164. The popular plurals *pieses, papases,* etc., are explained on the basis of the diminutives *piecito, papacito.* It should be remembered, however, that the plural terminations (*-es, -os, -as*) are normally posttonic. Consequently it seems more natural to suppose that the folk simply re-pluralizes the abnormal forms *piés, cafés,* etc., on the basis of *francés—franceses, cortés—corteses; papases* would eas-

ily come under the same general explanation (cf. *Dial. of Mexico City,* § 43).

§ 170. In view of the total absence of examples, why should we suppose that the forms *vosotros, nosotros* existed "en una época temprana"?

§ 183. In connection with *hogaño* (<*hoc anno*) cf. *eganyo* (Brutails, 158).

§ 261. To the list of contracted futures add e. g. *orré* (*oir*).

§ 428. As an example of the plural of compound nouns the Old Spanish *lugarestenientes* is of interest.

§ 457. This is an interesting treatment of change in gender caused by assimilation; for example the masculine gender of rivers on account of *río,* of mountains on account of *monte,* etc. Compare also the feminine gender and singular number of *Campos* or *Campos Góticos* in Old Spanish, for which we may find an explanation in *tierra de Campos.*

§ 503. Apropos of the accentuation of the enclitic pronoun in imperatives, the Mexican dialect contains a curious syntactical expression, *¡ándalé!* 'Go away!'

§ 555. The postposition of the adjective *otro* in Old Spanish is worthy of note: "Quando los ladrones otros vieron su señor muerto, començaron de fuyr" (*Carlos Maynes,* in *Libros de Caballerias,* ed. Bonilla, I, p. 519b); "non miró las batallas otras del reino" (*Ultramar,* 420b); "no queria, otrosi, que hombre ninguno otro ni mujer los tomase en los brazos" (*ibid.,* 94b).

§ 559. To the syntactical uses of *cada* add Old Spanish *cadaunos.*

§ 628. Adverbs of place not only may have an attributive character, as illustrated by Hanssen, but may be used substantively; cf. *aquel entonces, esta aquí.*

§ 650. This interesting section on the special uses of the conjunction *que* may be supplemented by the valuable note in Rodríguez Marín, *Rinconete y Cortadillo,* pp. 365–368. Hanssen's statement that "se puede suprimir el *que,*" followed by two short illustrative examples, seems rather inadequate treatment of this important phenomenon. Furthermore, Hanssen seems to state that the use of the substantive *que*-clause as object of the preposition *de,* was a usual construction in Old Spanish; in reality, the construction in question is comparatively rare.

§ 729. The preposition *fasta* frequently means 'within' in Old Spanish, especially in legal prose; cf. "esta manda estonze deve seer firme, si fuere mostrada antel obispo fasta VI meses" (*Fuero Juzgo,* p. 41a). Aragonese *tro a* may have the same meaning (cf. Brutails, 14).

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Hexen, Teufel und Blocksbergspuk in Geschichte, Sage und Literatur, von Karl Knortz. Annaberg, Sachsen: Grasers Verlag (Richard Liesche). 169 pp., M. 2.40.

That universally curious scholar, Dr. Karl Knortz of North Tarrytown, New York, has published a new volume which should prove of considerable value to students of "Faust" in particular, and in general to those who are interested in the myriad manifestations of human superstition. He has drawn together from every imaginable source a mass of legend and anecdote concerning the witches of all times and countries; and in his third and final chapter he has collected all the available information concerning the principal characters in the earlier Walpurgisnacht. Frau Baubo, who opens the festivities, is given considerable attention, and her unusual mount much more. The treatment of the fair and dangerous Lilith is extended and curious, involving such a bibliography of works of pure literature which have taken her for a theme, as could not easily be found elsewhere. The nameless fair one from whose mouth the red mouse escaped furnishes the occasion for a bewilderingly long list of similar superstitions from every quarter of the globe. Various other details of the story are illustrated quite as voluminously; and the volume closes with an interesting account of the jovial annual Walpurgisfest on the Brocken, with the text of the metrical "Devil's Sermon"

read at the 1903 conclave. As usual, the author has observed less system in arranging his material than might easily have been possible; but though the form might have been more satisfactory, the work is a useful compilation.

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BURBAGE AND SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Mr. Watson Nicholson's review of my *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX, 6–11), necessitates reply. The reviewer has not understood the relation between my title and my book; he has not read my preface for the explanation of my methods; he has twisted my words from their natural meaning, and torn them from their illustrative context; he has invented imaginary "claims" of mine and tilted at them as Don Quixote did at his windmills. Writers are not expected, in a non-combative book, to give repeated references to all the commonplaces of literature, nor, in writing a chapter on the deluge, to give chapter and verse every time they mention Noah's ark. I give references to all the new points made for the last fifty years. It is a little late in my day to suggest that I do not do my own work. I have worked at the British Museum since 1880, at the Guildhall Records in 1890, at the Record Office ever since, which is very well known to the officials in these departments. Many have "borrowed" from me, with or without acknowledgment, but I have never knowingly withheld "credit" from others.

It would be impossible, in these limits of space, to answer fully all the charges made in the long review, but I shall take as many as can be crowded in. Mr. Nicholson says that I have withheld from Mr. Cordy Jeaffreson the credit for the publication of the Middlesex Records. This is not true. I have given Mr. Jeaffreson as my sole "authority" on pages 30, 72 and 149, where they ought to be. Other similar misstatements are made. Where Mr. Nicholson begins to be "systematic" (p. 7), he says that I "printed without credit to others, or as claimed (avowedly or silently) by the author as original discoveries." Among these are "two notices of the Earl of Leicester's players at Gloucester," . . . "first printed (1910) by Mr. J. T. Murray." This is a misstatement. The first time I know it to have been printed was in the *Hist. Man. Coun. Rep.*, XII, app. ix, 470, in *1891!* I saw the original the following year, and I had already printed the fact in my list of the player's companies in my *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*, and I would not have mentioned Mr. Murray, unless I had been writing a critical history of the English stage, which I was not doing. I do *not* give the Burbage-Brayne pleadings as new finds, but I make them more complete than they had been before, in order to make the character of James Burbage more complete, and he complains of my doing so "regardless of the fact" that Professor Wallace had printed them in Volume XIII of the *Nebraska University Studies*. Now that volume appeared after the date of my book, if it goes on regularly from Vol. IX, in 1909, which I did see. But I have not access here to that University publication. I had given the references to all the Burbage cases, and the story of them, in *Fortnightly*, 1909, and the *Athenaeum*, 16th October, 1909. He challenges my right to tell the story of the "Rose and the Swan" because Professor Wallace printed them *in extenso* in *Englische Studien* 43, p. 340 (*dated April, 1911*). But I had published the references and full abstracts in *The Stage*, January 6th, 1910, a year and a quarter earlier. He also blames me about Halliwell-Phillipps. If he had followed my recognitions of that writer, as well as my strictures, he would have found my remarks justified. I had to find all the references for myself. Halliwell-Phillipps does *not* give the references to the Exchequer Bills, and he could not have read the Star Chamber Case, or he would not have missed the interesting parts about Giles Alleyn's

changes and the decisions, especially by Sir Francis Bacon. Neither he nor his followers had noted these. I need not have cavilled, it is true, about the trifling change Halliwell-Phillipps made in the order of the table of the Case before the Lord Chamberlain in 1635. I *do* refer to Joseph Hunter as the finder of the Queen's list of players, and I found the original entry for myself.

Other examples of Mr. Nicholson's methods of criticism I may now criticise. He says (p. 9), "Walter Cope's letter (p. 102) concerning the performance of *Love's Labours Lost,* January 11, 1604–5, is accompanied by a false reference to the State Papers. From this it is perfectly evident that Mrs. Stopes never saw the original, which is not in the State Papers at the Record Office, but at Hatfield House." Now I do not give the reference to the "State Papers," but to the "Cecil Papers." I copied the letter from the original in Hatfield House, where I worked long. The performance of *Love's Labours Lost* was not on January 11th, but January 12th, 1604–5. I show from Carleton's Letter in the State Papers, dated 15th January, that Cope's undated letter must have been written on the 11th of January, and I give the reference to that as D. S. S. P. James I, XII, 19. It is true that the note number (1) by a printer's slip was put a line too high, but any one, checking the record, must see to what it refers. Again, on same page, I am challenged about "Pemberton's Letter." Now the name Pemberton never occurs in my book. I suppose the writer means Pembroke, as I do give, as "new to literature," a letter of the Earl of Pembroke's. This, Mr. Nicholson informs his readers, was "printed by the British Museum in 1882." He should, to be exact, have given the full text of that printing, which says, "the second letter mentions the death of Richard Burbage the actor." If the selection from the letter, which I give, had been "known to searchers ever since," why did none of them put it into literature? The abstract of Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1559 is neither from Collier, nor the MS. in Bodleian, but from the proclamation itself to which the sole reference is date and printer. If I used the word "discovery" in regard to the Rutland entry about the Impresa, the context shows my meaning. I first state that Mr. Stevenson, officially going through the Rutland papers, had (necessarily) found that entry, with all the others contained in the collection. I add, that shortly after, being allowed to go to Belvoir Castle on purpose to see it, I had the whole of the manuscripts laid open to me, and I had the pleasure of finding it for myself. Many of Mr. Nicholson's charges are made to do duty twice, in the earlier part of his article, and in what he is pleased to call "the remainder." Of course I use the phrase "the unpublished volumes of the Privy Council Register," as the only possible term for them distinctive from those which have been published. The "plays at Court" were of course taken from the originals, not from Cunningham.

I was writing a little book, to interest many people in the Burbages, for the memorial we are setting up in Shoreditch. I had been asked to do it a year ago, and to do it in three months. I incautiously agreed, had all my materials collected in my book-boxes for years, and I had given so many lectures on the Burbages that my thoughts were full of them. But with my usual luck, no sooner did I begin, than an accident to my knee forced me to lie on the sofa for many months, and I was unable to go down to the Record Office or the British Museum to check my transcripts and references. Hence, I was aware, must arise many faults which would not otherwise have escaped. I freely acknowledge my real deficiencies. It is a little comforting, that not even Mr. Nicholson has found me wrong in facts. I never pretend to be an "archivist." But I am a patient searcher for truth. I am quite aware that in my early days of working, I was too much inclined to glean parts without the unnecessary circumlocutions from the various books I read. I know I was in trouble over the 1574 patent, as I could not even go upstairs to search my old note-boxes for 1891, when I had done that piece of work. I know that I had not time to chisel and rearrange; I had not space to put in all I knew, or to insert the transcripts *in extenso* which I had. I had no

one to help me in any way. But I always keep my word. I finished the book in the time promised. It filled a gap, and supplied the need. I had done my best under the circumstances; I did not consider the book as of any importance, and I have been more than surprised at the more than friendly reviews it has received, except from *The Times* and *Modern Language Notes*.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

Hampstead, London.

THE SECOND MAID'S TRAGEDY

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—My attention has been called to an article by Mr. Watson Nicholson in *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1912, which contains a most kind and appreciative notice of my edition of the *Second Maiden's Tragedy* prepared for the Malone Society in 1909. I quite agree that the ascription of small alterations and deletions is a difficult and uncertain task, and my chief concern was to argue against the wholesale and indiscriminate ascription of such to the censor, which had been the practice of previous writers. I think for my own part that we have had enough of 'psychology' in palæographical matters. The ink in which Buc signed is rather distinctive in color, and though I admit, of course, the abstract possibility of his having used two ink pots, I think it is uncritical to ascribe to him, on grounds of mere plausibility, alterations which are obviously in a different ink from that of his signature. Some alterations are certainly his, some are certainly the author's; there is a residue which I should be quite willing to leave unascribed.

Mr. Nicholson mildly rebukes me for omitting all mention of certain blue pencil marks in the manuscript. There are no blue pencil marks in the manuscript that I can see. There are a number of marks in ordinary lead pencil —obviously the work of some modern reader or editor.

Mr. Nicholson also remarks that the five slips of paper containing alterations are 'in a different handwriting' from the text—at least I suppose he means different from the text. If he will kindly look at the facsimiles in my edition he will, I think, be able to convince himself that this is an error. The writing, though showing some variation, is undoubtedly the same.

W. W. GREG.

London, England.

Powlert: AN UNEXPLAINED FOLK-SONG WORD

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I have never met with the folk-song *The Three Jovial Huntsmen,* except in *R. Caldecott's Picture Book No. 1* (F. Warne & Co.). It is a variant of *The Three Huntsmen,* not so good a song, of which words and music are given, No. 224, of *English Folk-Songs for Schools,* by S. Baring-Gould and Cecil J. Sharp (1906?). *The Three Huntsmen* is a song of six 8-line stanzas. *The Three Jovial Huntsmen,* with quite different words, is written in sixteen stanzas, which run in pairs; the metre is the old undivided Alexandrine, in iambics, with refrain. The song relates how the rustic huntsmen ran to earth, in turn, a "tatter't boggart in a field," a "gruntin' grindin' grindlestone," a "bull-calf in a pinfold," a "two-three children leaving school," a "fat pig smiling in a ditch," and "two young lovers in a lane." The last stanza is,

Then one unto the other said, This huntin' doesn't pay;
But, we'n *powler't* up and down a bit, and had a rattlin' day.
Look ye there!

The word *powlert* has escaped the editors of both The New English and The Century dictionaries. Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* gives "powlert, ppl. adj. Lancashire," and defines it as "knocked about; also, figuratively, distressed, broken down, impoverished." Two quotations are cited, one from the songs of Edwin Waugh, the Lancashire poet (1866, edi-

tion of 1871), and the other from one of the voluntary readers, G. H. Brierley, of Cardiff, from *Jingo and Bear* (1878).

Randolph Caldecott published, in 1878, Cowper's *The Diverting History of John Gilpin* and *The House that Jack Built;* in 1879, Goldsmith's *An Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog* and *The Babes in the Wood;* in 1880, *The Three Jovial Huntsmen* and *Sing a Song of Sixpence,* issued in one volume, by George Routledge and Sons.

Warne's *R. Caldecott's Picture Book No. 1* is without date, but evidently later. It contains *John Gilpin,* the *Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog,* and *The Three Jovial Huntsmen,* all illustrated in color and black and white. Caldecott was attracted towards the quaint and old-fashioned in manners and costume, and drew horses and dogs and hunting scenes with the enthusiasm of a sportsman. The eighteenth century, especially the latter half of the eighteenth century out-of-doors lives again in his spirited drawings. It was the spell of the eighteenth century that led Caldecott to combine in his Picture Books an eighteenth century poem, with an old song or old folk-lore rime. He pictures *The Three Jovial Huntsmen* in eighteenth century costume, blowing French horns, in illustration of the line,

An' they hunted, an' they hollo'd, an' they blew their horns also.

Sir Walter Scott, in the hunting scene of *The Bride of Lammermoor* (Lucy Ashton was Janet Dalrymple, a bride of 1669), mentions "the French horn, which was *then* always used for the encouragement and direction of the hounds," as if the use of the French horn in hunting had gone out, or was going out, when he wrote the romance, in 1829. Henry Blackburn says nothing in his *Memoir of Caldecott* (1886) as to where Caldecott got *The Three Jovial Huntsmen* for a subject. He tells us, however, that in 1878, two years before he illustrated it in a Picture Book, Caldecott exhibited at the Royal Academy an oil painting of the three huntsmen riding home in evening light. I have never seen this painting, but the last color print of *R. Caldecott's Picture Book No. 1* is a quaintly winsome picture of the three huntsmen riding home in "the setting of the sun."

Whatever the source of the folk-song, *The Three Jovial Huntsmen,* it is a North Country song, very likely, like Caldecott, Lancashire-born. There are two other North Country words in it: 'grindlestone,' occurring in the thirteenth century metrical romance of *Gawain and the Green Knight,* used by Ben Jonson in *Love's Welcome at Welbeck,* 1633, and now dialectic (Whitby and Chester); and 'boggart,' a scare-crow, used by Charlotte Brontë, in *Shirley* (1849).

The verse of *The Three Jovial Huntsmen,* the undivided Alexandrine, in iambics, is one of the lyric measures of Sir Philip Sidney, in *Astrophel and Stella* (1591, but written before 1582).

Certainly, the curious word *powlert* is older than the seventies of the nineteenth century. It has set itself most happily in English, in this fine old hunting song, which inspired the kindly, joyous art of Randolph Caldecott.

Mary Augusta Scott.

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Tennyson's Silence

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—As everyone knows, Tennyson published his first independent volume of poetry in 1830, and his second in 1832. He then remained silent for ten years, publishing no book until 1842, and printing in the interval only two fugitive poems, *St. Agnes* and the stanzas *Oh! that 'twere possible,* both of which appeared in miscellanies in 1837. Tennyson was a free man during this decade; he had no professional occupation, and spent his time writing verse, which he resolutely refused to publish, though besought by his friends to do so. Many reasons have been advanced for this strange silence; it is probable that the hostile criticism which his second volume received

both hurt and chastened him, and made him determined not to appear again before the public until he had something that would completely satisfy his own fastidious taste. His first volume had been cordially praised; his second met with a disappointing reception. To a modern reader, the poems of 1832 seem so enormously superior to those of 1830 that one is ready to censure the critics of that time. When one reads those two little books of verses in their original editions, however, one feels more sympathy with the critics. Tennyson did not revise, he really rewrote in subsequent years the poems of 1832, as Churton Collins pointed out, and as any one may see for himself.

I own a volume that perhaps helps to explain Tennyson's obstinate silence. It is today a rare book, and I have never seen any allusion to it in critical works on Tennyson. It bears the detestable title, *The Book of Gems*. It appeared in London in 1838, and was edited by S. C. Hall, who had during the two preceding years published two volumes with the same title, which, however, did not, like the 1838 volume, deal with contemporary poets. This book contains 304 pages, and is made up of extracts from the works of forty modern British poets, with biographical and critical comments on each. Hall was not a bad critic; he praised Keats in the highest terms, both as a man and as a poet. But for our purpose the most interesting page in the volume is that devoted to Alfred Tennyson. After a biographical account, Hall wrote this significant paragraph:

"Mr. Tennyson has published two volumes; and the last is not the best. Our extracts are, with but one exception, made from the former. It is to be regretted that the reputation which this work obtained for him did not induce him to write with a higher object than that of amusing and gratifying the reader, by a collection of brief and comparatively unimportant poems, or that until he had succeeded in producing something more worthy of his genius, he did not abstain from appearing a second time before the public. The world will look with anxiety to the next; it will decide the point which is still undecided—whether another great Poet is to be added to the long list which the present century has supplied to us, or whether the industry and energy of the author of 'Poems, chiefly Lyrical,' are not equal to his delicacy and imagination. His compositions are, undoubtedly, brilliant and beautiful: their merit is sufficient to justify the praise he has received; and it is only because he has afforded ample proof of his capacity to do better, that we lament he has not yet fulfilled the earliest promise of his genius."

I cannot help thinking that Hall's remarks aided in delaying Tennyson's next publication, and thus help to explain his long silence. It is pleasant to remember that the two volumes of 1842 did settle once for all the question raised by Hall; pleasant also to note that Hall lived until the year 1889, and had abundant opportunity to realize the consummation of his anxious hopes for the young poet.

Wm. Lyon Phelps.

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A Syntactical Note

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In "*Das Eng. Relativ im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*" Dr. Anklam says (p. 9), "Doch fehlt wohl ein Relativ in Ancren Riwle, þus he spekeð to Moyses, þet monne mest him luvede, 408.20, das Morton wiedergibt durch: Thus he speaketh to Moses, the man who loved him most." In *Critical Contributions to Early English Syntax* (2d Series, p. 10) Dr. Bödtker says, "Among the examples from early MidE. texts quoted by Anklam, *l. c.* p. 9, there is really only one that marks a step forward [in the change from parataxis to hypotaxis]," quoting this example. A right understanding of this sentence will show, I think, that it contributes nothing to the history of the relative. Both Anklam and Bödtker are apparently misled by Morton's mistranslation, for *monne* is here a genitive plural, and *þet* is the ordinary relative: "Moses, who of men loved him most." The weak form (O. E. *manna*) is rare in the nominative singular even in O. E. Mätzner and the Oxford record no M. E. in-

stances. The usual form in the *A. R.* is nom. *mon,* with gen. pl. *monne* (cf. ine monne eihsihðe, *Sprachpr.* p. 13). Moreover, the genitive plural with *mest* (adj. and adv.) and with other words is a common idiom: *S. Eng. Leg.* Ich habbe i-sunegut manne mest (*NED,* s. v. *man*); *Orm.* & ȝho þatt cwemmde himm allre mæst Off all mannkinn (*NED, most,* adv.); ȝho wass wiss allre manne mast Off soþfasst lufe filledd (Mtz. s. v. *man*); *Laȝ.* Wilcume læuerd, monne me leofest (ib.),—cf. wummen me leouest, *A. R.* (*Sprachpr.* p. 40). Exactly parallel in sense to our passage is *Laȝ.* For he of alle monnen mæst hine lufede (Mtz. s. v. *mare*), where the analytic form replaces the inflected genitive. Numerous other parallels may be seen in Mätzner's *Wb.*

John S. Kenyon.

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BRIEF MENTION

Martinon's *Comment on prononce le français* (Larousse, 1913, xi + 414 pp.) is a treatise, addressed to natives, in which the author disclaims any attempt at scientific treatment or arrangement, stating that he is simply setting down, in the way which should render his material most easily accessible to the layman, the pronunciation of French words in accordance with cultivated Parisian usage, save in cases where such usage is purely local. It would be highly desirable to have a statement of how Mr. Martinon arrives at the determination of this delicate and complicated problem, particularly as he constantly and very emphatically contradicts the three works he chooses as his standard of comparison—the *Dictionnaire général,* Rousselot's *Précis,* and the Michaëlis-Passy. In the absence of all indication, we are justified only in assuming that the rules given indicate the way one intelligent and manifestly observant Frenchman believes that his mother tongue is pronounced by himself and the average cultivated person with whom he is thrown. Taken at this valuation, the book is of decided interest and utility even to the foreign audience whose ear he is not asking. They, and his chosen public as well, would profit, however, by the introduction of certain modifications. Let the author start from the written symbols if he will, but his treatment would be much more systematic and much more compact should he abandon his attempt to follow the alphabetic order for vowels and consonants. Only gain would result from the omission of such statements as that, when an open *a* is changed to a close *a* by moving the palm of the hand toward the mouth, "la main fait ici l'office du *gosier*" (p. 5); or that the 'mute' consonants are so named "parce qu'elles ne se font sentir réellement qu'avec l'aide d'une voyelle" (p. 7). Certain etymologies sown by the wayside had better be excluded, such as the identification of *ménager* with Eng. *manager* (p. 66). Further, what is the use of introducing historical explanations into a book of this declared aim and type? Above all, since some of the specimens offered are not edifying; witness the explanation of *bien* as having originally been pronounced *bian* (p. 136); or of an original pronunciation *eune* for *un* (p. 280); or of the *s* in *volontiers* as having been introduced as a sign of the plural (pp. 293, 295).

While Spielhagen's reputation as novelist is not what it was a generation ago, his literary and historical importance are great enough to make welcome a school-edition, by M. M. Skinner, of his Novelle *Das Skelett im Hause* (D. C. Heath & Co.). To bring it within the compass demanded by schools, the story has been abridged rather more than a fourth. This has been done, not by cutting out episodes, but by omitting bits of dialogue and description wherever the opportunity offered. In the main this pruning has been done very skilfully, but any such process always involves the dangers of eliminating connecting links in the narrative, a danger that the editor has not altogether succeeded in escaping. Thus there is no longer any motivation for *sprang mit einem Satze in die Höhe* (p. 4, l. 12), which in the original found its explanation in *es duftete im ganzen Hause nach frischgebranntem Kaffee;* and *auf Arthurs Seite* (p. 8, l. 13) no longer clearly refers to the suit for the heroine's hand. One is sorry also to see the vivid picture of the North German landscape dulled somewhat and to have the lines of Frau Ülzen, the most convincing character sketch of the story, cut down. The notes have been prepared with care. A serious slip is the dating of Wolfram von Eschenbach on p. 140. While the fable is rather slight, the suspense as to the denouement is kept up till the very end. The thoroughly German atmosphere also will commend the book to our schools.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIX. BALTIMORE, MAY, 1914. No. 5.

THE LEGEND OF ST. CHRISTINA BY WILLIAM PARIS

So infrequently can a medieval poem, or indeed one of much later origin, be precisely dated that there is considerable satisfaction in pinning a work down to a particular year by absolute evidence. When such a discovery of date reveals, even in a half-light, the personality of an obscure author and the elements of a very pretty story, the satisfaction is measurably increased. The case in point is not important of itself; but it has its bearings on the history of several great figures of Richard the Second's reign and, if I mistake not, on the contemporary reputation of Chaucer himself.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

In a manuscript (Arundel 168) containing also an anonymous legend of St. Dorothea, Capgrave's *Catharine,* and Lydgate's *Life of the Blessed Virgin* is preserved to us one of the four Middle English poems on St. Christina. This work[1] of 528 verses in eight-line stanzas, riming *ababbaba,* was written by an author otherwise unknown to us and, quite possibly, otherwise not an author at all. He names himself William Parys. The circumstances in which he composed his poem, as he himself relates them, enable us to fix with certainty the time when he wrote, and reveal something of his character. I quote his statement of the case (vv. 497–528):

Seint cristyne helpe thorought thi prayere
That we may fare the better for the,
That hath bene longe in prisone here,
The Ile of mane, þat stronge cuntre.[2]
Sire Thomas Brawchaump ane erle was he;
In Warwik-shire was his powere;
Now is he of so poure degre,
He hath no mane saue one squiere.

Where are his knyghtis þat with hyme yede
Whane he was in prosperite?
Where are the squiers now at nede
That sumetyme thoughte þei wold not flee?
Of yomene hade he grete plente
That he was wonte to cloth & feede.
Nowe is þer none of þe mene
That ons dare se þer lorde fore drede.

In prisone site þer lorde alone;
Of his mene he hath no moo
But William parys, be seint Johne!
That with his wille wolle noght hime fro.
He made this lyfe in ynglishe soo
As he satte in prisone of stone,
Euer as he myghte tent þer to,
Whane he had his lordis seruice done.

Jhesu criste, goddeste sone of myghte,
As þou come downe to mende oure mysse
Ande in a clene virgyne þou lyghte,
Marie, þat now thi modire is,
Thou graunte alle grace þat hath herde this
In heuene of the to haue a sighte,
To se the sitte there in thi blisse
With seint cristyne, þi maydyne brighte![3]

There can be no doubt that the "Sire Thomas Brawchaump" mentioned in the first stanza quoted is a mistake of the scribe for Sir Thomas Beauchamp, and that the imprisoned nobleman on the Isle of Man was no other than the governor of Richard II, the ally of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel: that Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who fell a victim in 1397 to the malevolent revenge of a king whose will he had helped to flout.

Of Thomas de Beauchamp's career but little need be said until the opening of its final chapter. He succeeded to his title in 1369, when twenty-four years of age, took part in John of Gaunt's French campaign in 1373, and in 1380 was appointed governor of the young king Richard II. About 1385 he joined the baronial party in opposition to the king, headed at

[1] Ms. Arundel 168, fols. 2a–4b. Ed. Horstmann, *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden,* 1878, pp. 183–190.

[2] Ms. reads "of mane of þat."

[3] For a collation of this passage I wish to thank my friend Professor Robert K. Root, whose readings I reproduce. In a few details the text differs from Horstmann's.

that time by Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry of Derby, whom we know best as Bolingbroke. In November, 1387, he was a leader in the threatened uprising, managed by Gloucester, Earl Richard of Arundel, and himself, which humiliated the sovereign; and in the following February he was one of the five lords appellant who routed the king's favorites and for a time ruled England. Richard's *coup d'état* of May 3, 1389, destroyed the power of this coalition; but his singular moderation saved Warwick and his fellows from punishment.

During the summer of 1397, however, the king either became alarmed by the behavior of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick; or, as seems more probable, believed himself to be in a position to pay off old scores against the three noblemen. At all events, he had them arrested in July. Gloucester he sent to Calais for safe-keeping, Arundel to the Isle of Wight, and Warwick to the Tower.[4] On the fifth of August[5] all of them were impeached of treason. On September 16 the pardons issued to them for their actions ten years before were repealed.[6] Before they could be brought to trial, Gloucester was dead in Calais, murdered by the king's order. Arundel was accused and beheaded on September 21;[7] and on September 28[8] Warwick was tried. In contrast to Arundel, he made an abject confession and was promptly sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, and to forfeit his estates. On the following day this sentence was commuted by the king "q'il demureroit en perpetuel prison hors du Roialme en l'Isle de Man pur terme de sa vie. . . . Et q'il soit a la mere sur son passage vers le dit Isle de Man devaunt la fyn d'un moys apres yceste XXIX jour de Septembre, a demurer illeoqes pur terme de sa vie, en la fourme suis dite. Et sur ceo, le dit Counte de Warr' fuist deliverez a Monsr William le Scrop, & a Monsr Estevene son frere, pur luy saufment amesner vers le dit Isle, & lui garder corps pur corps illeoqes, saunz lesser le dit Counte de Warr' departier hors de dit Isle."[9] A chronicle in English gives the additional details that the trial was conducted with extraordinary precautions as to guards, and in a "long and large hous of tymber in the paleis at Westmynstre, that was callid an Hale; couered with tilez, and open on both sidez and atte endis, that alle men myghte se thorough."[10] The same chronicle (p. 11) also records that the commutation of Warwick's sentence was "be instaunce of lordis, because he was of gret age"; but it seems more probable that the king's clemency was due to his satisfaction in witnessing the complete abasement of an old enemy.

Warwick must, according to his sentence, have arrived on the Isle of Man before the end of October, 1397. He left it, we are told, after the triumph of Henry of Lancaster in August, 1399.[11] The author of the *Annales Ricardi* further states that during his imprisonment Warwick "tractatus fuerat satis inhumane per ministros Willelmi Scrop, cui pertinuit regnum illud." To this matter we must presently return. At the moment, let me record that Warwick did not long survive his liberation, dying in April, 1401.

The bearing of this political history on the question of the date of our poem is evident. Paris says of Warwick (vv. 499–500):

> That hath bene longe in prisone here,
> The Ile of mane, þat stronge cuntre.

Although "long" is a sufficiently indefinite measure of time, Paris could scarcely have so

[4] *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, etc.*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Soc. LXIV, 1856), p. 8.

[5] *Rolls of Parl.* III, 374 f.; *Annales Ricardi*, ed. H. T. Riley, p. 207 (*Rolls Ser.*, XXVIII[3]); *Eulogium*, ed. J. S. Davies, in *An English Chronicle, etc.*, p. 130.

[6] *Rolls of Parl.* III, 350.

[7] Id. III, 377.

[8] Id., III, 379.

[9] Id., III, 380.

[10] *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies, p. 9.

[11] *Annales Ricardi*, p. 252. J. H. R(ound) in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* states that Warwick was recommitted to the Tower on July 12, 1398. Of this I can find no evidence whatever; the record of the *Annales* is explicit.

designated the length of his exile before 1398 came in. On the other hand, he may have been writing during the early months of 1399. Within the limits thus set, the poem can safely be dated. The evidence is unusually complete.

With reference to two matters, furthermore, the evidence of the poem should be weighed for its bearing upon the judgments of history. In the first place, the devotion of Paris to his lord is so unfeigned that one cannot but believe that Thomas Beauchamp had more qualities of manliness than have been allowed to him by modern historians. He is represented to us by them as unscrupulous, time-serving, cowardly. Surely, if this were the whole story, he would have been somewhat less of a hero to his squire.

> In prisone site þer lorde alone;
> Of his mene he hath no moo
> But William parys, be seint Johne!
> That with his wille wolle noght hime fro.

Unless he were a better man than is apparent from his political acts, Warwick could scarcely have commanded fidelity of this kind. It speaks well for William Paris, but it says something also for Warwick.

In the second place, the statement of the chronicle that Warwick was "inhumanly" treated during his exile by the servants of Scrope is not confirmed by the poem. Indeed, unless both Paris and his master were decently used, it is hard to see how the former could have written his legend. As we shall see, he did not get his material from the most obvious sources. Such a collection as the *Legenda Aurea* might conceivably have been among the exiles' effects, but it is not likely that they carried with them many books. It seems probable that they were given access to whatever library the island boasted. At all events, they were not entirely deprived of the consolations of literature. Furthermore—and this is, perhaps, more important—Paris makes no complaint of ill-treatment, as he assuredly would have done if he had felt that his lord was being subjected to harsh or unusual punishment. His only complaint is that Warwick's other followers have deserted.

Literary Relations

As noted above, four poems on the passion of St. Christina exist in Middle English. In approximate chronological order, these are:

1. *De sancta Cristina,* in the expanded *North-English Homily Collection* as found in MS. Harl. 4196.[12]

2. *Cristine,* in the *Scottish Legend Collection.*[13]

3. *Crystine,* by William Paris.

4. *Vita Sanctae Christianae,* by Osbern Bokenam.[14]

In an attempt to discover the relations of these poems to one another and to their sources, I have compared them, phrase by phrase and incident by incident, with such versions of the Latin *Passio* as have been accessible to me. I have examined the texts in the *Acta Sanctorum,* Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale,* and Mombritius, as well as the epitomes in *Legenda Aurea,* Petrus de Natalibus, and Surius. Reference to the invaluable *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* will show, however, that the comparison I have made is very far from exhaustive. In particular, I regret that I have been unable to find in this country a copy of Pennazzi, *Vita e martirio ammirabile della gloriosa S. Cristina,* a book published in 1725 at Montefiascone, which contains several important Latin texts of the legend. Until those texts, at least, have been utilized, it is hardly worth the while to print the tabular analysis that I have prepared. No positive conclusions as to the sources of the Middle English poems can be reached until this work is done. For the present I must content myself with referring briefly to the results of the comparison as far as it has been made.

In general, it may safely be said of the four Middle English poems that they are independent translations from four distinct Latin ver-

[12] Ed. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge,* 1881, pp. 93–96.

[13] Ed. Horstmann, *Barbour's Legendensammlung,* 1882, II, 177–181; Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century* (S. T. S., 1896), II, 398–406.

[14] Ed. Horstmann, *Osbern Bokenam's Legenden,* 1883, pp. 54–80.

sions of the *Passio*. Exclusions and inclusions of incidents, as well as order of events and discrepancies of detail, make this certain.

With reference to the sources of the English versions severally, my results are, as I have said, thus far unsatisfactory. The *Christina* of the *North-English Homily Collection* has some striking points of similarity to William Paris's poem as, for example, the baptism of the saint in the sea by Christ, where the two resemble the epitome of *Legenda Aurea*. On the other hand, in at least one trait the Harleian poem differs from every other version that I have examined: Christina is protected by a miraculous growth of hair from the shame of nakedness. Obviously, we have still to find the source.

The version of the *Scottish Legend Collection* has long been referred to the *Legenda Aurea* as its source. As is the case with other legends in that collection, however, there are marked discrepancies between the poem and the received text of the Latin. For example, the name of the judge who succeeded Christina's father is given by Graesse as Ellius, while it appears in the Scottish translation as Denyse.[15] There can be no doubt, I think, that the Scottish *Christina* was translated from *Legenda Aurea*. The divergences in detail serve merely to show how valuable would be a variorum edition of James of Varragine.

As to the poem by William Paris, I have come no nearer a discovery of the exact source than in the case of the *Christina* of the Harleian MS. There is the same curious criss-cross of similarity and dissimilarity to all the Latin versions that I have yet examined.[16] Possibly the Latin text used by Warwick's squire on the Isle of Man may have perished there; but it seems to me likely that a version very similar to it, at least, must still be in existence. It may be worth while to note that Paris's reference in his epilogue to Bulstene (Bolsena) as Christina's burial-place points to a Vatican MS.[17] as representing this possible original.

Osbern Bokenam's poem, of the four, is the only one that greatly resembles the version printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Willenberg's conclusion[18] that Bokenam did not translate precisely that version is unquestionably sound; but he must have used a Latin text closely related to it. There is every reason to hope that a fuller examination of extant texts will reveal his veritable source.

Literary Inspiration

Whether or no we have preserved to us the precise version of the *Passio* that William Paris translated, we can, I believe, discover what work he used as a model. It is less easy, to be sure, to trace with certitude relationships in style and manner than relationships in subject-matter; it is not possible in the present case to submit definite proof. Nevertheless, William Paris's legend seems to me so clearly an imitation of Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* (*Caecilia*) that I have no hesitancy about stating my opinion.

It has, in the first place, the same sobriety, the same simplicity, the same brevity, the same solidity; and it is by virtue of these qualities that Chaucer's legend is so successful a treatment of his theme. In both cases, of course, much of the value of the performance is to be ascribed to the Latin original. Yet one need not have read widely in verse translations of the Middle English, or of any other period of our literature, to know that the good qualities of a work may be singularly obscured by indifferent craftsmanship. I am not saying that William Paris was a great poet; he was, indeed, as far as one can make out, only a young gentleman with a taste for letters who whiled away the tedium of imprisonment by writing this one legend,

> Euer as he myghte tent þer to,
> Whane he had his lordis seruice done.

[15] Brunet's translation gives it as Enius.

[16] The snake-charmer is called Marces, for example: a misunderstanding of a class-name as a proper name that appears also in the text of Mombritius but not elsewhere. In other respects, there is marked divergence from that text.

[17] Listed in *Bibl. Hag. Lat.* as 1748a.

[18] *Engl. Stud.*, XII, 36.

Yet I am greatly mistaken in my notions of literary art if a young retainer of a great lord could have made in 1398 or 1399 a poem with precisely the qualities of this if he had not been a reader of Chaucer.

It is not that he used Chaucerian phrases; it is not that he refashioned the substance of his story and took Chaucer as his master of narrative art; it is simply a case where diction, turn of speech, and rhythmical movement constantly recall the manner of the great poet. Of the four poems on St. Christina, which I have mentioned, that by Paris is far and away the most interesting. It is the only one that has literary quality. Bokenam in his version does not lack interest, to be sure, for his personality makes all his legends individual; but Bokenam was a disciple of Chaucer in profession rather than in fact. Lydgate, and almost certainly Gower, led astray such writers as the Austin friar into paths of which Chaucer's literary taste would have disapproved. In Paris there is no parade of learning—probably the squire had little; and no polysyllabic rimes sprawl their slow lengths upon his verse. He wrote vigorously and not ungracefully, even if not with great mastery. The trick of such verse-making must, I believe, have come from Chaucer, who was a magnificent artificer as well as a great story-teller, a wonderful humorist, and an admirable observer of life.

Paris was, it must be admitted, not very fortunate in his choice of a subject. The legend of St. Christina has not in it the possibilities that Chaucer turned to such good account in narrating the life of St. Caecilia. Yet he made of the crude tale as satisfactory a poem as might have been expected if it had been done by a versifier of much greater experience and of much more renown. To Chaucer, as well as to Paris, be the glory, since he must have been "the only begettor" of this rather charming waif from the end of the fourteenth century.

If my belief be correct as to the inspiration of the legend, the evidence that it affords of Chaucer's influence upon the court circle of his time is not without interest. If Paris indeed took him as his model, it is clear that the troubled days of King Richard were not without their mitigations. It is pleasant to reflect that letters could be a solace to the retainer of an exiled lord and that, at court or in banishment, the spirit of the yet-living Chaucer could dominate his mind.

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OLD NORSE NOTES [1]

IV. ETYMOLOGY OF *þengill*

Of the many Old Icelandic poetic synonyms (*ókend heiti*) for 'king,' 'prince,' 'hero,' 'man,' some few have remained obscure in origin and etymology. Among these the word *þengill* is one of the most common. Noreen [2] brings the word into connection with *þing*, "popular assembly." The Old Norwegian form *þingill* which he cites appears, however, to be a secondary development of the older *þengill* [3] and the relation between *þengill* and *þing*, if there be one, entirely remote. Konráð Gíslason [4] was obviously nearer the truth in rejecting the connection of the former word with *þing* and insisting upon that with *þang* (="sea-weed": Swedish *tång*, Danish *Tang*; German *Tang* is a loan-word from the Scandinavian). The difficulty is in this case a semasiological one. Gíslason called attention to *þǫngull*, which is an exactly parallel formation to *þengill* with suffix-gradation (*-ula*, *-ila-*, the *ǫ* and *e* representing respectively *u-* and *i-*umlaut of *a*), and which, according to Gíslason, applied to a particularly large and hard species of sea-weed. Gíslason thought the word *þengill* might then have been used of a man, characterizing him as surpassing other men in the same proportion as the *þǫngull* surpassed other kinds of sea-weed (*þang*). That this explanation is unlikely is at once apparent.

[1] Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI (1911), pp. 46–50.

[2] *Altisl. und altnorw. Gramm.*[2] (1903), § 161.

[3] Cf. O. Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne* (1901), pp. 246 f.

[4] *Forelæsninger over oldnordiske Skjaldekvad*, pp. 199 f., published 1895.

An interesting article by Much [5] so far confirmed results which I had tentatively reached that I now venture to publish them. The Germanic tendency to compare a man with a tree or stout piece of wood had been well known through Old Norse *kenningar* and etymological matter (Much refers to previous collections). Among additions to earlier lists Much (p. 43) calls attention to the *Stingel* (Modern German *Stengel*) of Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch,* where with others the following meaning is given: "Mannsperson, insonderheit noch lediger Bursche." Old Norse *þengill* appears to be the same word as German *Stengel* without initial *s*.[6] The semasiological difficulties standing in the way of this assumption are not serious. That the robust sea-weeds of Northern latitudes should be designated by a word meaning "Stengel" or something similar is not remarkable. In fact, Fritzner [7] without reference to etymology defined *þöngull* as "Tangstengel, Tangstamme" and as an Old Norse kenning *hlíðþang* or *hlíðar þang* (*hlíð,* f.="mountain-side") meant "forest." [8] That *þang* should be related to Old Norse *stǫng,* German *Stange,* etc., is in the light of these facts not so incredible either.[9]

Anglo-Saxon poetry made similar use of the word *þengel* together with an alternative form *fengel.*[10] A third form *strengel* ascribed to *Beowulf* (l. 3115) might almost suggest an error for *stengel,* were it not for the fact that the duplication of the *wigena strengel* (l. 3115) by *wigena strengest* (l. 1543) rather indicates that the mistake is of a different sort.[11]

þengill has survived in Modern Norwegian as a personal name *Tengel,*[12] just as *Stengel* occurs as a family-name in German.

V. Etymology of *glíma*

The distinctive word for the wrestling-bout of Iceland which has persisted from the saga-period to the present time has, so far as I know, never been explained.[13] The word exists as a noun *glíma* (fem. *-ōn*-stem) and verb *glíma* (weak conjugation). It has not been recognized as a loan-word and I know of no reason to suspect that such is the case. That it might be related in some way to Old Icelandic *glý* (neut., Anglo-Saxon *gléo,* Engl. *glee*) and that from a general meaning of "amusement" it came to apply to the particular amusement of the wrestling-match does not seem likely. I am more inclined to believe that it contains the Germanic prefix *ga-,* which had in Old Icelandic in every case been reduced to *g-*.[14] It is not, however, my purpose to suggest the verb *líma* meaning "to stick, glue" (German *leimen*), but rather the Germanic root *hli* (Indo-European *kli*) [15] meaning "bending, inclined, leaning," occurring in a variety of words, most commonly followed by the (Indo-European) consonants *n* or *t,* though also in some words by others. With an *m*-element it is not otherwise represented in Germanic, however, except in the Gothic *hleiduma* (="left"), where the *m* forms a part of the old superlative suffix. If it were possible for this form to become the basis of a verb or noun in Old Icelandic, the *-du-* might undoubtedly have disappeared,[16] but it is not likely that such is the case. It rather seems to me that the word

[5] "Holz und Mensch," in *Wörter und Sachen,* I (1909), 39 ff.

[6] Cf. Noreen, *Abriss der urgerm. Lautlehre,* pp. 201 ff. and the literature there cited for initial *s* before consonants.

[7] *Ordbog,* III, 1067.

[8] Sv. Egilsson, *Lexicon poeticum,* p. 357.

[9] Torp and Falk (Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.,* III, 1909, 179) seem in doubt as to where to put it.

[10] For the relation of the *f* to the *þ* cf. Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre,* p. 197.

[11] Cosijn's emendation (*Aanteekeningen op den Béowulf,* 1892, p. 24) *strengel* for *strengest* in the latter case, though incorporated by Holthausen in his text, is not fully convincing.

[12] Cf. Aasen, *Norsk Navnebog,* p. 39.

[13] On the Icelandic *glíma* cf. especially Björn Bjarnason, *Nordboernes legemlige Uddannelse i Oldtiden* (København, 1905), pp. 102 ff. A remarkably detailed account is given by Ólafur Davíðsson in *Íslenzkar gátur, þulur og skemtanir,* II (1888), 38–70.

[14] Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. und altnorw. Gramm.,*[3] § 146 and the literature there cited.

[15] Torp and Falk in Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.,* III (1909), 111 ff.

[16] Cf. Noreen, *Altisl. und altnorw. Gramm.,*[3] §§ 145b. 282.

has the *m*-element attached directly to the root. Though the Germanic languages preserve from this root no other such form with *m*, such a formation is not impossible as is shown for example by the Greek *κλίμα* and *κλῖμαξ* derived from the same root.[17] To be sure, the complete suffixal elements of the Greek words do not agree with that of the Germanic (Norse) one, *-mōn-*,[18] but this latter is an entirely familiar Indo-European suffixal form and is represented in other feminine *n*-stems in Old Norse.[19] This assumes, of course, that the verb *glíma* is secondary to the noun. The full Germanic stem-form of the noun would be, according to this theory, *gahlīmōn-*. Semasiologically this etymology is hardly objectionable. That the Icelandic should preserve this word-form lost in the other Scandinavian languages is not incredible; that it was a new formation subsequent to the settlement of Iceland is practically out of the question.

VI. *Grípisspá* 3

This Eddic poem has by pretty general consent been relegated to a place among the last in time of composition and least in point of merit of the Eddic repertory. Both in his choice of form and in his use of material the author was in many respects unfortunate, to say the least.[20] The poem is not however to be understood as a mere catalog-poem, a versified table of contents of the Sigurþ-legend, inasmuch as the author has both chosen and treated his materials with reference to a definite object, that of making his hero appear a chivalrous knight *sans reproche*. The emphasis is thrown upon the ethical and the means employed of representing Sigurþr himself as shocked at his future deception of Brynhildr, while his prophetic uncle tries to reassure him, is at least interesting.[21] The poem seems generally well preserved, which accords with the wide-spread conviction of its late origin: only one point at the beginning offers real difficulties.[22] The first five stanzas as preserved in the *Codex regius* narrate that Sigurþr meeting Geitir outside Grípi's dwelling (1) asked the name of the inmate and was informed that it was Grípir, (2) that he expressed his desire as a stranger (*maþr ókunnigr*) to speak directly with Grípir; whereupon (3) Geitir asked his name and was informed that he was Sigurþr the son of Sigmundr and Hjǫrdís. Geitir (4) then went and informed Grípir that a stranger (*maþr ókuþr*) had come to speak with him. Grípir (5) comes out and greets Sigurþr by name and bids him welcome. These peculiar inconsistencies with reference to Sigurþ's identity evidently account for the insertion in the prose before stanza 1 of the statement that Sigurþr was easily recognizable.[23] Detter and Heinzel (p. 388) suggest that stanza 3 be regarded as an interpolation and Gering also brackets the stanza. Bugge had offered a different suggestion,[24] that a stanza is perhaps lost between 4 and 5, in which Geitir reported Sigurþ's name. This does not, however, do away entirely with the inconsistency and has met with no acceptance. Neither does the procedure of Detter and Heinzel leave things in an entirely satisfactory condition and there is nothing in stanza 3 itself to suggest that it does not belong to the poem. It seems to me much more probable that stanza 3 was recorded in the

[17] Cf. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (1911), pp. 470 f.

[18] Cf. however on this point Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Grammatik der indogerm. Sprachen* (1903), § 425.

[19] Cf. Torp, *Gamalnorsk ordavleiding*, § 19, in Hægstad og Torp, *Gamalnorsk ordbok* (1909).

[20] Cf. especially Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, II² (1902), 626 ff.

[21] For an appreciation of this aspect of the poem see Heusler's introduction to Genzmer's translation: Genzmer, *Edda; erster Band, Heldendichtung* (=Niedner, *Thule*, 1) (1912), p. 134.

[22] For suggestions for other parts, particularly by Edzardi, see the footnotes of Gering's edition: *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, 3. Aufl. (1912), pp. 276 ff.

[23] *Sigurþr var auþkendr;* cf. Detter und Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda*, II (1903), 387; though the reasoning of these commentators that the prose is thereby proved to have belonged originally to the poem before its inclusion in the Eddic collection is hardly to be subscribed to.

[24] *Norræn Fornkvæði* (1867), p. 205.

wrong place and that it should stand after 4. The sequence of events would then be: Sigurþr asked Geitir the name of the occupant of the house and was informed that it was Grípir; he asked as stranger for an audience; Geitir obediently reported that a stranger wished admittance; he was sent back to ascertain the stranger's name and was informed that it was Sigurþr Sigmundarson; having learned his identity Grípir comes out, greets him as Sigurþr and bids him welcome. With this change the assumption of a lost stanza or two seems to me unnecessary, as the context becomes sufficiently clear without it. If understood in this way stanza 5, verse 3: *þigg hér, Sigurþr! væri sœmra fyrr;* ("Be welcome, Sigurþr! it would have been more fitting before") is better understood as a natural apology for not having admitted him immediately, not as it is generally interpreted as a reproach for not having come before.[25]

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DAPHNÉ: ALFRED DE VIGNY HISTORIEN

M. Fernand Gregh vient de publier *Daphné,* cette œuvre à laquelle Vigny a fait allusion dans le *Journal d'un Poète* et dont le titre mystérieux avait intrigué les critiques.[1]

Daphné est la suite directe de *Stello,* paru en 1832 et qui portrait en exergue: "Les Consultations du Docteur Noir, Première Consultation." Les deux interlocuteurs de *Stello* sont les mêmes que dans *Daphné:* Stello et le Docteur Noir; le premier personnifie l'enthousiasme, le second l'esprit critique du poète. C'est un épisode, le seul qui soit achevé, d'un grand roman cyclique qui devait mettre en scène le réformateur religieux à travers les âges. Ecrivant en 1837, Vigny était encore sous le coup de l'impression produite par les *Paroles d'un Croyant* que Lamennais venait de publier et qui avaient obtenu un succès prodigieux.

Le roman, dont l'action se passait à l'époque contemporaine, devait renfermer trois épisodes historiques introduits d'une façon quelconque dans sa trame. Ainsi *Daphné* est un manuscrit de lettres écrites par un jeune Juif, élève de Libanius, que lisent ensemble Stello et le Docteur Noir. Des autres épisodes et du roman proprement dit, il ne reste que des fragments souvent très intéressants. Témoin cette description de la foule parisienne un soir de fête si réaliste et en même temps si poétique et que M. Savj-Lopez admire à si juste titre.[2] Nous savons aussi que les deux autres épisodes devaient rouler sur Mélanchthon et J. J. Rousseau, comme *Daphné* met en scène Julien l'Apostat. Ces trois réformateurs devaient échouer parce qu'ils avaient trop de tendresse pour l'humanité, qu'il leur manquait cette dureté implacable de Luther et de Voltaire.

Ces lettres du jeune Juif, qui forment la deuxième partie et la plus importante de *Daphné,* nous présentent un merveilleux tableau de l'état moral de l'empire romain au IVe siècle et un Julien l'Apostat des plus attachants et des plus profonds qui soient. Au milieu de l'envahissement de l'empire par le christianisme, il reste un îlot à peine atteint par le flot montant de la nouvelle doctrine: c'est *Daphné,* le faubourg d'Antioche, au temple et au bois sacré si fameux, demeure de Libanius qui personnifie ici la suprême sagesse. De ce sommet Libanius embrasse le présent et l'avenir: l'inutilité de la tentative de Julien—on ne chasse pas une religion avec de la philosophie—; la ruine du christianisme grec trop subtil, trop argumentateur, bon à produire des sectes qui

[25] The Grimm brothers, *Lieder der alten Edda* (1815), p. 130, referred to the possibility of an alternative interpretation of the latter half of this verse.

[1] *Daphné* (Deuxième Consultation du Docteur Noir). Œuvre posthume publiée d'après le manuscrit original. Avec une préface et des notes par Fernand Gregh. Edition définitive. Paris, Ch. Delagrave, 1913. *Daphné* a été publié pour la première fois mais d'une façon moins complète, par M. Gregh dans la *Revue de Paris* (15 juin, 1er juillet et 15 juillet 1912).

[2] "*Dafne.* Un'opera postuma di Alfred de Vigny," par Paolo Savj-Lopez, *Nuova Antologia,* 16 novembre, 1913.

s'entredéchirent; l'avènement et le triomphe de la religion simple, entière, sans arrière-pensée, du Barbare. Julien, qui avait cru trouver de l'encouragement auprès de son ancien maître, accueille ce verdict avec la constance, le sourire du philosophe qui se rend compte que le vulgaire doit nécessairement lui échapper.

M. Gregh a pu dire dans sa préface: "Dans ces lettres, Vigny apparaît nettement un précurseur. Maintes fois en le lisant, on pense déjà, pour le pittoresque, au Flaubert de *Salammbô* et de la *Tentation;* pour la grâce alexandrine et pour la délicatesse avec laquelle la couleur locale est posée çà et là, à l'Anatole France de *Thaïs;* pour le savoir et l'amplitude de l'intelligence, au Renan des *Dialogues philosophiques.*" Il n'y a là aucune exagération. M. Gregh aurait même pu ajouter qu'il fait songer à Fustel de Coulanges pour l'intelligence de l'histoire et l'interprétation des documents. C'est même sur ce point que je voudrais attirer l'attention. Page 85, Libanius explique que la société est en train de se transformer, que les bases de la morale sont ébranlées:

"Voici encore une de ces actions qui jettent le trouble dans l'âme des plus justes et pour lesquelles ils ne sauraient quel avis donner. Sur quel droit s'appuyer pour blâmer et pour approuver? Notre temps n'est vraiment semblable à aucun temps, si l'on ne sait pas regarder plus haut que les évènements.

"Deux familles viennent de se réfugier à Daphné. Ces deux familles demandent à Antioche asile et protection. Et voici un homme, le père et le chef de la première famille, un Publius Claudius, un patricien, citoyen romain de l'ancienne race des Claudiens qui avait trois branches patriciennes et une plébéienne, lui qui était beau-frère du dernier comte d'Orient sous Constantin, le voici, parceque sa fortune est réduite à une petite terre en Syrie, qui donne sa terre, sa personne, ses enfants, sa postérité, ses serviteurs et les fils et les filles de ses serviteurs, à titre de sujets, redevables envers leur maître, à perpétuité d'un dixième de leur bien ou du produit de leurs travaux; et ce maître, ce possesseur souverain est l'affranchi Théodore de Batné, autrefois joueur de la flûte double, qui a des propriétés d'une immense étendue et qui les a toujours défendues contre les Barbares, à l'aide de la faveur des empereurs, de ses richesses, de ses esclaves armés et des remparts dont il a entouré ses terres et ses châteaux. Or ce Publius Claudius est chrétien et se donne ainsi corps et biens à un Hellénien qu'il nomme païen ou paysan quand il en parle; et ce Théodore de Batné, par souvenir de son ancien état ne cesse d'affranchir ses esclaves et autres et n'exige d'eux qu'un travail assez modéré qu'il leur paie par journées. Quelquefois il leur donne des terres qu'ils cultivent et l'un d'eux s'étant fait chrétien,—favorisé par le duc d'Egypte et par Athanase, ce factieux patriarche, banni d'Alexandrie,—s'est trouvé assez riche pour vendre sa protection à une autre famille Hellénienne qui est là aussi près de mon foyer. Voici dans ma main les deux traités de ces familles suppliantes avec les familles souveraines qui, au nom de leur richesse et de leur force, vont les recevoir esclaves, mais esclaves d'une nouvelle sorte: c'est un esclavage volontaire pareil à celui de l'enfant sur le bras de la femme, de la femme sur le bras de l'homme. Et tout cela n'est consacré par aucune loi des dieux ni des hommes et cependant cela étant nécessaire doit vivre à travers tout et cet ordre inconnu prend naissance au milieu des désordres."

M. Gregh nous dit alors en note: "Vigny fait pour ainsi dire sortir le moyen âge de l'empire romain et montre les origines supposées de la féodalité et de la dîme dans l'antiquité même."

Evidemment; mais quand on songe que ce passage a été écrit en 1837, on reste confondu. Qu'on se rappelle qu'à cette époque il n'y avait que deux manières d'expliquer l'origine de la féodalité. L'une, celle à laquelle le nom de Montesquieu est resté attaché, était que les Barbares, en entrant dans l'empire romain, y avaient introduit la coutume du compagnonnage ou "comitatus" suivant l'expression de Tacite, mais que le chef avait pris l'habitude de distribuer des terres en présents, au lieu des cadeaux d'armes ou de chevaux qu'il leur donnait en Germanie.[3] C'est l'idée de Loyseau dans son Traité des Seigneuries publié en 1608. Guizot et Pardessus,[4] contemporains de Vigny, partageaient cette opinion. L'autre théorie, acceptée par Gibbon, qui, à l'époque de Vigny, avait plus d'autorité que personne en matière d'histoire romaine, est ainsi formulée par le

[3] Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, XXX, cc. 3 ss.

[4] Guizot, *Essais*, 1823, pp. 122 ss; Pardessus, *Lex Salica*, p. 490 ss.

grand historien: "The lands bestowed on the veterans as the free reward of their valour, were henceforward [sous Alexandre Sévère] granted under a condition, which contains the first rudiments of the feudal tenures, that their sons who succeeded to the inheritance should devote themselves to the profession of arms as soon as they attained the age of manhood." C'était la théorie de Jacques Godefroy (1587–1652) dans son édition du Code Théodosien (l. VII, 15). Tillemont et l'abbé Dubos avaient adopté cette manière de voir.

Mais en 1850, Paul von Roth dans un livre qui fait époque [5] montra qu'à l'origine, c'est-à-dire à l'époque mérovingienne, le bénéfice n'avait rien de militaire, qu'il ne prit ce caractère que beaucoup plus tard. Georg Waitz, dans son histoire de la constitution allemande, démontrait de plus que le régime féodal ne se rattachait aucunement au compagnonnage ou "comitatus" des anciens Germains,[6] que c'était un état de choses basé sur le besoin de protection du faible qui s'adressait à un puissant et que ce lien unissait autant les particuliers ensemble qu'avec le chef; on ne le rencontrait d'ailleurs que chez les Francs et point chez les autres tribus germaniques. Il restait, toutefois, à Fustel de Coulanges d'en indiquer l'origine. Dans son *Histoire des Institutions politiques de l'ancienne France,* dont les derniers volumes n'ont été publiés qu'après sa mort arrivée en 1889, il démontrait d'une manière irréfutable que le régime féodal, en tant qu'il repose sur la dépendance mutuelle des propriétés foncières, sur l'abandon du titre de possession absolue fait au puissant par le faible en échange de sa protection, était en pleine voie de développement au quatrième siècle, sous le nom de précaire, nom qu'il a d'ailleurs gardé pendant la période mérovingienne.[7] On sait qu'au quatrième siècle la population libre diminuait, que les curies ne trouvaient plus à recruter de nouveaux membres. Pour échapper à l'oppression, les hommes libres, les paysans surtout, trop exposés, préféraient se reconnaître clients des grands, mais clients d'une nouvelle espèce par une formule qu'on appelait précaire. "Voici donc à ce qu'il semble comment les choses se passaient. Le petit paysan, qui, pour quelque raison, avait besoin de la protection d'un grand, s'adressait à lui. Il lui demandait de protéger, non sa personne seulement, mais plutôt sa terre, son fundus. Le grand répliquait probablement qu'il ne pouvait protéger que ce qui était à lui. Alors le paysan lui transférait sa terre, soit par une donation complète, soit par une vente. C'était cette vente qu'une loi de 373 appelait une fiction ou un mensonge." [8] Car le paysan conservait, bien entendu, l'usage, l'usufruit de sa terre moyennant une redevance. La ressemblance de cette explication avec le passage de Vigny est certainement remarquable. Mais pour finir cet exposé, il faut ajouter que les empereurs Valens, Théodose, Honorius et Arcadius prononcèrent successivement des peines très sévères, dont la moindre était la confiscation de la moitié de la propriété du précariste et une forte amende au riche, contre ceux qui se rendraient coupables de cette nouvelle sorte d'illégalité. Rien n'y fit; le besoin de protection était trop fort et les dangers trop grands qui menaçaient celui qui restait seul. Cet état de choses devait transformer tout le système de la propriété. Comme le dit M. G. Bloch dans le tome I[er] de *L'Histoire de France* de Lavisse, page 444: "La recommandation combinée avec le précaire n'est pas seulement un des moyens par lesquels s'est développée la grande propriété. Elle contenait en germe les deux institutions dans lesquelles se résume ou peu s'en faut, tout le régime féodal, la vassalité et le fief"; et page 448: "Il ne manque au propriétaire que d'être un chef militaire. Il le sera quand les circonstances l'exigeront. Le même Ecdicius qui aura nourri quatre mille pauvres pendant une famine, lèvera à ses frais une troupe de cavaliers pour repousser une incursion de Wisigoths (Sidoine Appollinaire, Ep. III, 3)."[9]

[5] *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens von der ältesten Zeiten bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert,* Erlangen.

[6] *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte,* 3e édition, Berlin, 1880, p. 398.

[7] Voir entre autres le tome V, *Les Origines du Système féodal.*

[8] *Op. cit.,* p. 103.

[9] L'Histoire de Lavisse publiée en 1900 est la première œuvre d'ensemble qui *connaisse* cette explication.

Tel est donc l'état de la question. La science historique confirme presque mot pour mot la manière de voir de Vigny. Mais quand on songe qu'il a fallu tout le génie de trois historiens pour arriver à cette solution et qu'on la voit toute faite, clairement conçue et exprimée, dans un roman de Vigny cinquante ans auparavant, on ne peut s'empêcher d'admirer.

Mais une question se pose: Est-ce par un pur hasard que le poète a *donné* dans cette découverte? On peut sans hésiter répondre que non. Outre qu'il pensait à Julien et à son temps depuis de nombreuses années, il avait beaucoup lu sur ces époques. Il avait d'abord lu Gibbon, mais Gibbon ne le menait pas sur le bon chemin. Il avait lu, il nous le dit lui-même, le *pro Templis* de Libanius et probablement le *de Patrociniis* du même sophiste, qui traite précisément du patronat et de l'abus qu'en font les paysans pour se soustraire aux impôts et maltraiter leurs voisins non protégés. Ces protecteurs, dans l'occurrence, se trouvent être des soldats. Là encore, Vigny aurait pu faire fausse route s'il avait suivi le rhéteur de trop près: car celui-ci se plaint précisément que les paysans aient abandonné leurs vrais patrons pour s'attacher à ces soldats. Mais parmi les guides que suit Gibbon et auxquels il renvoie fréquemment le lecteur se trouve Tillemont. La méthode de Tillemont est très propre à inspirer à qui en est capable des idées générales. Elle consiste à déterminer exactement la chronologie des faits et à rassembler tous les documents qui sont de nature à les éclairer, en s'en tenant d'ailleurs strictement à l'ordre chronologique. La plupart du temps, il se contente de résumer brièvement et aussi fidèlement que possible les documents en question en y mêlant très parcimonieusement ses propres réflexions. Ainsi au sujet de ce nouveau patronat basé sur le précaire que les empereurs essaient vainement d'enrayer, Tillemont [10] résume le discours de Libanius *de Patrociniis* qui se rapporte à un genre de protection très spéciale, mais montre du moins le besoin d'appui qu'avait le paysan. Il cite ensuite la loi de Théodose à la date de 392 qui interdit le patronat fondé sur le précaire. Il rappelle la loi de Valens de 370 sur le même sujet et mentionne le renouvellement de ces interdictions par les successeurs de Théodose, Arcadius et Honorius. Quelques pages plus loin, à l'article LXIV, page 341, Tillemont nous donne la loi du 1er juillet 391 qui ordonne aux particuliers "de repousser avec les armes et de tuer ceux qui viendroient la nuit piller leurs champs ou qui assiégeroient les grands chemins, quand même ce seroient des soldats: ces sortes de crimes méritant d'être punis sur-le-champ sans attendre l'autorité des juges qui ne pouvoient venir assez tôt pour les empêcher." Puis vient l'histoire de ce Lucien qui pour arriver au pouvoir avait cédé ses propriétés au préfet Rufin. Ce Lucien était fils d'un ancien préfet des Gaules. C'était aussi un parfait honnête homme: sa probité fut d'ailleurs cause de sa ruine. Devenu comte d'Orient grâce à l'appui de son seigneur Rufin, il s'opposa à l'injustice de l'oncle de l'empereur. Rufin le fit alors tuer. Rapprochée des autres textes, on voit tout de suite que cette cession de propriétés est de l'espèce dont l'histoire de cette époque est pleine. On s'étonne même en voyant cette concordance que l'idée de la vraie origine du système féodal ne soit pas venue à Gibbon ni à aucun des historiens avant Fustel de Coulanges. Mais c'est qu'on avait des idées trop inexactes sur l'époque mérovingienne. Néanmoins, les éléments de la théorie générale sont là rassemblés, sans parti-pris, par Tillemont. Et que Vigny ait lu Tillemont, il ne saurait y avoir le moindre doute. En effet dans *Daphné*, page 58, la première lettre de Joseph Jéchaiah raconte la destruction d'un temple païen par les moines:

"On voyait revenir des campagnes, par troupes de cent ou deux cents hommes, des jeunes gens vêtus de robes noires ceintes d'une corde. . . . Ces hommes avaient l'air irrité. . . . Notre frère Siméon de Gad m'apprit que ces hommes venaient de courir les campagnes voisines d'Antioche, comme ils ne cessent de faire chaque jour, pour forcer les campagnards à briser les statues de leurs dieux. Mais il leur faut pour cela livrer de rudes combats. Les villages ne cèdent pas sur ce point aussi promptement que les villes et leurs habitants qui n'ont pas la mollesse des citadins,

[10] *Histoire des Empereurs*, tome V, article LXI.

tuent, à coups d'arbalète et de piques, les Nazaréens qui veulent toucher à leurs petits temples et défendent mieux leurs dieux de bois que les riches leurs dieux de marbre et d'or. . . . Notre frère, Siméon de Gad, à qui je demandai le nom de ces étranges personnages, me dit avec un léger sourire qu'il ne put s'empêcher de laisser percer sur l'habituelle gravité de son langage, que ces hommes qui couraient en foule et souvent par troupes nombreuses s'appelaient depuis quelques années solitaires ou moines. Pour moi, cela ne me paraît pas surprenant quand je vois s'établir aussi peu à peu dans tout l'empire la coutume de nommer *paysans,* en langage de Rome, tous les adorateurs des dieux, de quelque rang qu'ils soient, à cause de la résistance obstinée des villageois ou *pagani.*"

Nous avons là, résumé d'une façon vivante, le *pro Templis* de Libanius, sauf la dernière phrase sur l'étymologie de païens, car Libanius écrivant et pensant en grec ne s'inquiète pas de ce mélange d'idées particulier au latin. Par contre, dans Tillemont, *Histoire des empereurs,* tome 5, page 232, à la suite du résumé du *pro Templis,* se trouve la même observation sur l'emploi du mot *pagani.* La ressemblance est trop frappante pour que ce ne soit qu'une simple coïncidence. Dans une des notes de *Daphné,* page 206, Vigny résume de nouveau le *pro Templis* en le faisant suivre de cette étymologie du mot païen exactement comme dans Tillemont.

Ceci, d'ailleurs, n'est pas pour atténuer son mérite, mais pour montrer au contraire que cette idée que dans le patronat fondé sur le précaire se trouve l'origine de la féodalité, est une vue synthétique résultant de la lecture des textes et à laquelle il est arrivé pour les mêmes raisons que cinquante ans plus tard Fustel de Coulanges.[11] Certes les faits eux-mêmes qui symbolisent cette révolution ne sont pas historiques. Il n'y a pas eu de Claudius qui, à ma connaissance, se soit fait le précariste d'un Théodore de Batné; Libanius en 363 n'était pas le vieillard que nous dépeint Vigny: il n'avait pas encore atteint la cinquantaine; ni Julien n'a réellement prononcé cette parole: "Tu as vaincu, Galiléen"; elle n'est pas non plus de lui, la formule que lui fait employer Vigny au commencement de la dernière lettre qu'aurait écrite l'empereur: "Moi, Julien, souverain-pontife, serviteur du Soleil-Roi et de tous les dieux, exterminateur des Francs et des autres Barbares, libérateur de la Gaule et de l'Italie . . .," elle se trouve dans une lettre apocryphe. Cela Vigny le savait; il a pris ces traits, il les a fondus ensemble, il en a fait sortir une vérité plus profonde, embrassant dans une synthèse poétique toute une époque dont elle donne la clé.

Les admirateurs de Vigny nous sauront peut-être gré d'avoir attiré l'attention sur une faculté du poète qu'il n'avait pas montré, au même degré, dans ses autres œuvres. Si la fonction de l'historien rentre dans le domaine de l'action, c'est bien à Vigny qu'on pourrait appliquer cette pensée de son *Journal d'un Poète:* "Prouver qu'une âme contemplative comme celle de Julien, quand elle daigne donner quelques-unes de ses idées à l'action, la domine et l'agrandit."

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[11] On peut voir dans ses notes les lectures qu'il a faites: les œuvres de Julien, naturellement, de saint Jean Chrysostome, de Grégoire de Nazianze, de saint Augustin, qui dans ses sermons fait allusion à ce nouveau patronat comme à une coutume ordinaire, etc.

NOTES ON CHAUCER: THE CANTERBURY TALES

The Plimpton Fragment of the Canterbury Tales

A fragmentary MS. of Chaucer's greatest work, which seems virtually unknown,[1] yet is owned in this country, is of much interest even though it consists of only a single sheet. Its courteous and liberal owner is Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York, who secured it from

[1] It is mentioned by neither Skeat nor Miss Hammond, and is doubtless the only Chaucer MS. on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. W. A. Craigie obligingly tells me that it is mentioned in Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836.

the Phillipps collection at Cheltenham; "Phillipps MS. 9970 (234)" stands at the bottom of the first page. It is well written on vellum by a single hand, "the ordinary formal hand of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, say *c.* 1430–50; certainly not later than 1450." [2] It was the outside sheet of a quire of four, having catchwords for the next quire at the bottom of the fourth page, and what may be a signature (possibly O or a peculiar form of P) at the bottom of the first. The fourth page has been much soiled and scribbled on (with the date "Ap. 18:1651"), and the sheet then folded twice at right angles, stained by some liquid and pressed in some way, perhaps used in binding another book.

The fragment makes partial amends for its brevity by containing passages of interest to the higher critic; on pp. 1 and 2, the *Merchant's Epilogue* (E, 2419–2440), the *Squire's Prologue* [3] (assigned to the Franklin, F, 1–8), the Franklin's proem and the beginning of his tale (F, 709–752), and on pp. 3 and 4 a further part of his tale (F, 1198–1272). Of the eight MSS. published in full by the Chaucer Society, the Plimpton MS. is most like the Petworth, reading *frankeleyn* for *squier* in *Sq. Prol.* 1, with MSS. Petworth and Hengwrt, and inverting the first two lines of *Frankl. T.*, with MSS. Petworth, Corpus and Lansdowne. For *Merch. Ep.* we are able to compare it with two more MSS., and for *Sq. Prol.* with seven.[4] Of all these fifteen MSS. the Plimpton MS. is most like Cambridge Mm 2.5.[5] It belongs pretty clearly to Type IV. of MSS.,[6] the chief mark of which is splitting and rearranging groups E and F. While it has some (so far as we can tell) unique corruptions,[7] it seems to represent a transition to such corrupt texts as CmMm and Pt. As to the original contents of the MS. of course we cannot tell much. If the fragment belonged to quire O or P, 13 or 14 quires, 208 or 224 pages and upwards of 7700 or 8300 lines preceded. So the MS. cannot have agreed in contents and arrangement with CmMm, which originally contained about 13500 lines, before the *Merchant's Epilogue*, nor with normal Type IV. MSS., which contain nearly 12000 (including *Gamelyn*), or about 11000 (without it). The value of such a fragment of course is not textual, but is in the light it may throw on the later history of the MS. tradition. It adds another to the small group called by Miss Hammond IV. d, including otherwise only Petworth and Cambridge Mm.

In Principio: *Prol.* 254

For the Friar's pleasant *In principio*, which helped so much in his begging, Dr. Skeat quotes from Tyndale an illustration which shows that "the friars constantly quoted this text." But this as it stands is a little unaccountable; at all events there is something more in the reference. The opening of St. John's Gospel, the most impressive statement of the central dogma of Catholic theology, was and is regarded with peculiar reverence and used in various ways, liturgical and superstitious. The whole passage, "In principio . . . omnia per ipsum facta sunt" (vv. 1–3), was used with various ceremonies as a charm against fever by the Anglo-Saxons.[8] St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, is said to have cured a demoniac by the use of holy-water and reciting "In principio . . . plenum gratie et veritatis" (vv. 1–14).[9] In various ways the Middle Ages showed espe-

[2] This information, on the basis of a photograph, is due to the kindness of Mr. Madan, Bodley's Librarian, and Mr. Craigie.

[3] The "epilogue" and "prologue" in this MS. bear out what I have said elsewhere about the error of making "E" and "F" two groups. They are written with no division whatever, with not even a large capital between. However, I have retained the usual terms.

[4] Six-Text edition (Chaucer Soc.), introduction to vol. I., pp. 46–57.

[5] E, 2419, god; 2422, as wemen ben for and as; F, 3, ȝe can.

[6] Cf. *Six-Text*, I, Trial-tables; Skeat, IV, xxiii.; Miss Hammond, *Bibliogr. Manual*, 165–172.

[7] A curious dialectical or individual pronunciation is indicated by the writing of *shl-* for *sl-*; *shleyghthe* (!) E 2421, *shleppte* F 721, *shlouthe* F 1232, *shlute* F 1260.

[8] *Saxon Leechdoms* (Rolls Ser., 1864–6) II, 136.

[9] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser., 1864), 275–6; Roger of Wendover (*ib.* 1886–9), I, 305.

cial reverence for this passage; it was sometimes read at baptism and at extreme unction, and was used for superstitious purposes, inscribed on amulets and charms.[10] On nearly every Roman Catholic altar to-day stand two framed "altar-cards," one containing part of the canon of the mass, the other this passage, (vv. 1–14), which forms the usual "last gospel," read after mass. At the end of the consecration of a bishop, he recites the passage. Less markedly, it appears in many other places in liturgies both Latin and English.

Friday Weather: *Kn. T.* 1539

The Knight, comparing the lover Arcite's variable spirits to the changeable weather of Friday, adds rather inappositely

> Selde is the Friday al the wyke y-like,

which Dr. Skeat illustrates by a Devonshire proverb and an Old French passage. The same supposed fact is stated and accounted for in Alexander Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*.[11] Venus of all the planets is most benevolent to earthly beings. "Hinc est quod sexta feria, in qua Venus dominatur, fere semper aliam faciem praetendere videtur quam caeteri dies hebdomadae." The reason is that since living creatures need both heat and moisture, and this planet is of hot and moist nature, it good-naturedly sends heat after a wet week and wet after a hot week. What can be simpler!

Simkin's Ruse: *Reeve's T.* 4057–4106

Simkin the miller, to distract the overshrewd clerks Allan and John so they cannot do as they intended (*i. e.*, spy on his rascality), unties their horse and lets him run after wild mares in the fen. Much the same trick, for a similar purpose, is played by Loki on a mountain-giant, in the *Gylfaginning* in the *Prose Edda*.[12] The giant undertakes to build a great burg for the gods and finish it before summer, and demands as reward the sun and moon, and Freyja as wife; the work nears completion with the marvelous help of his horse Svaðilfari, the gods grow alarmed at the payment they must make, and Loki undertakes that the work shall be unfinished when summer comes, and the reward therefore forfeited. As the giant drives his stallion in the evening for rocks, Loki in the form of a mare runs neighing out of the woods; Svaðilfari bursts his harness and keeps the giant chasing him all night, and the loss of time saves Freyja and the sun and moon.

Chantecleer's Chivalry: *N. P. T.* 4372–3

> He chukketh, whan he hath a corn y-founde,
> And to him rennen thanne his wyves alle.

The same nice observation is found in a 15th century Latin poem from Bohemia, *De Gallo*, on the resemblance between a cock and a priest.

> Gallus granum reperit, conuocat uxores
> Et illud distribuit inter cariores.[13]

The Pursuit of the Fox: *N. P. T.* 4565–91

The rape of Chantecleer by the fox is well illustrated by a carved miserere[14] in that finest of English parish-churches, St. Botolph's, Boston, Lincolnshire. A fox is running off with a cock, its neck in his mouth and its body lying over on his shoulder.[15] Behind him is a woman in pursuit, with a distaff in her right hand and a spindle in her left.[16] At the narrow bottom of the miserere a hen is looking on in evident bereavement. The carving is skilful in composition and execution, and contains the essentials of Chaucer's lively scene, as much detail as could be put in such small space. It seems to be about contemporary

[10] *Catholic Encyclopedia, s. v.* Gospel, p. 662.

[11] Rolls Ser., 1863, pp. 42–3.

[12] *Prosaische Edda im Auszuge*, ed. Wilken (Paderborn, 1877), pp. 52–4; *Die Edda* (tr. Gering), 331–3; *Younger Edda* (tr. Anderson, Chicago, 1880), 109–11.

[13] *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Cl., 1861; XXXVI, 162.

[14] The 18th of the upper stall seats on the south side of the choir.

[15] And bar upon his bak the cok away (4569).

[16] Ran . . . Malkin, with a distaf in hir hand (4574).

with the tale.[17] It is probably merely another illustration of the popular, traditional character of the pursuit-scene.[18]

"HA, HA, THE FOX": *N. P. T.* 4571

Ha! ha! was the regular shout to frighten away a marauding animal. The 13th century Dominican Nicolas de Biard says, with a diverting application, in one of his sermons: "Non est lupus adeo incarnatus in ove quin fugiat si pastores continuent clamare: *Ha! Ha!* Unde bonum est frequentare sermones."[19]

THE WIFE OF BATH'S REVENGE: *W. B. P.* 800–810

The Wife of Bath, never patient to excess, found her husband's readings aloud (721, etc.) from the book containing "Valerie and Theophraste" and other cynical literature a little too much. Yet when she has retaliated by tearing three leaves out of the book and knocking Jankin into the fire, and he again by knocking her senseless, after all this row she recovers her resourcefulness and shows that her creator at any rate has profited by some of this reading. For her final revenge seems borrowed from the very book which contains "Valerie," Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium.*

> O! hastow slayn me, false theef? I seyde,
> And for my land thus hastow mordred me?
> Er I be deed, yet wol I kisse thee.

As Jankin knelt penitently to kiss her,

> yet eft-sones I hit him on the cheke,
> And seyde, 'theef, thus muchel am I wreke;
> Now wol I dye, I may no lenger speke.'

Walter Map[20] tells the following anecdote of the foolish wrathfulness of the Welsh. One of two companions is shot, and charges the other to pursue the murderer, "'et mihi vitam meam ab ipso refer;'" unable to overtake the murderer and wreak vengeance, the second returns to his wounded comrade and tells of his failure. "'Veni huc,' inquit [vulneratus], 'ut susceptum a me osculum feras uxori meae et filiis, quia morior.'" As the other is about to kiss him, the wounded man stabs him in the belly. "'Perde,' inquiens, 'tuam [vitam] qui meam mihi per ignaviam non retulisti.'" Then the second disembowels the first, saying he is only sorry he cannot convey such kisses to the wife and children.

FRIARS IN HELL: *SUMN. PROL.* 1675–1706

The curtain-raiser, in the Sumner's *Prologue,* to his dramatic revenge on the Friar in his tale is not elsewhere extant, Dr. Skeat believed. However this may be, a story does exist of which this cannot be quite independent. It is of a Cistercian monk carried to heaven, who wondered to find there religious of many orders and none of his own. But the Queen of Heaven replied with a compliment, "aperiensque pallium suum quo amicta videbatur, quod mirae erat latitudinis, innumerabilem multitudinem monachorum, conversorum, sanctimonialium illi ostendit," all Cistercians.[21] Chaucer's jape has every appearance of being a vulgarization of this.

[17] "Probably executed during the last quarter of the fourteenth century": *Reports and Papers . . . of the Architectural Societies of the Diocese of Lincoln,* etc., publ. by J. Williamson, Lincoln, p. 184 (kindness of the vicar of St. Botolph's).

[18] Miss Petersen, *Sources of the N. P. T.*, pp. 10–21. In a late M. E. song by the Franciscan Ryman (Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXIX, 285–6), the fox "toke a gose fast by the nek," and "threw a gose vpon his bak," and the goodwife "threw hir rok" at him. The relation of medieval sculpture to popular literature and folklore should prove as charming a subject to look into as the like relations of Greek vase-painting.

[19] Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.* XXXIII, pt. 1, p. 267.

[20] Camden Soc., vol. L, p. 103, which is not long before the *Dissuasio Valerii* (142 ff.). A parallel to the Prioress' French of Stratford (*Prol.* 125) has also been noticed, on p. 236 ("loqui Gallicum Merleburgae"). The same treacherous-blow motive occurs in a memorably tragic form at the end of Mr. John Masefield's *Daffodil Fields.*

[21] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* (Cologne, 1851), VII, 59; d'Ancona, *Precursori di Dante*, p. 72. I have heard Chaucer's story in a less coarse form told at the expense of a particularly narrow Protestant sect.

THE FRIAR'S VISION: *SUMN. T.* 1854–68

The friar in the *Sumner's Tale* shows more tact and presence of mind than the commentators give him credit for, when he tells his bereaved admirer instantly how he saw her child's soul borne to bliss.[22] After avouching his vision by his venerable brothers the sexton and the infirmarer, he says he arose in tears, and all the convent,

> Withouten noyse or clateringe of belles;
> *Te Deum* was our song and nothing elles.

Te Deum would be sung not as a thanksgiving for a sinless soul gone to paradise, an unmediaeval suggestion quoted by Dr. Skeat from Bell, but in honor of the miraculous vision. Those who report the healing of a blind woman by the relics of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, want the bells rung and *Te Deum* sung.[23] It was quite usual to do this after a miracle, in its honor and to call people together. After the healing of a blind girl by St. Dunstan, "tunc pulsato signo . . . concurrit universa civitas. . . . Coepimus itaque excelsis vocibus simul et lacrymabilibus Dominum Deum nostrum laudare,"[24] which last doubtless means that they sang *Te Deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur*. When the chapter of Lincoln are convinced (which was probably soon) that a dropsical woman and a dumb boy have really been cured by St. Hugh, the bells are rung and a procession made to the saint's tomb.[25] Another reason for bell-ringing in our case perhaps would be that Thomas and his family had taken out letters of fraternity in the friar's convent (2126–8), and it was customary to toll a bell at the death of a member.[26] The reason why the friar says scornfully that in his case they did not make all this noise might be that anybody living within earshot would know the convent-bells had not rung that night.

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[22] Such visions are common enough, especially among the Anglo-Saxons. Another related by the Venerable Bede, besides that mentioned by Dr. Skeat, is St. Cuthbert's, of the shepherd Hadwald (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, ch. 34); cf. also Bede's *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 3 and 23. St. Cuthbert as a boy was said to have seen Aidan's soul carried by angels to heaven (Alfric's *Lives of Saints*, E. E. T. S. II, 142).

[23] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser. 1864), p. 375.

[24] *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Ser. 1874), p. 138.

[25] *Vita*, in Giraldus Cambrensis' works (Rolls Ser. 1874), VII. 126, 133.

[26] Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, 2nd ed., II, 244–5.

Schillers Anthologie-Gedichte, kritisch herausgegeben von DR. WOLFGANG STAMMLER. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1912. 8vo., 71 pp., M. 1.50.

This edition of Schiller's contributions to the *Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782* is issued as No. 93 of the *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, edited by Hans Lietzmann, a collection which covers a vast and widely diversified field of study and which is, perhaps for that very reason, not so well known to Germanists as it deserves to be. The "Anthology" itself had been reproduced in 1905 by Fedor von Zobeltitz as No. 5 of his *Neudrucke literarhistorischer Seltenheiten*. Outwardly attractive—far more so than its Tobolsko prototype—and faithful to its original in many little details of typography, this reproduction is unfortunately extremely unreliable, as has been pointed out by Leitzmann (*Euphorion*, XV) and E. Müller (*Jahresberichte* for 1905). Stammler's text of Schiller's share in these poems—the operetta *Semele* alone is omitted—is better than that of v. Zobeltitz, though hardly to the extent that one might expect of an editor who speaks of the work of his predecessor as "unbrauchbar."

The signatures[1] that Stammler assigns to Schiller are: A. M. O. v.R. Rr. W. W.D. Y. *. †. The absence of the letter X. in this list is sufficiently explained by the statement of

[1] X. is, on p. 69, erroneously listed under both Abel and Schiller.

Abel[2] in his autobiography (a manuscript in the archives of Cotta) that he himself is the author of the "Lied eines Eifersüchtigen." Questionable, however, is the absence of the signature P., and more than questionable its assignment to Petersen. The four poems bearing this signature should probably have been included in the collection.

The two principles that have guided the editor in his work are stated as follows in the preface: "die orthographie ist von den setzerwillkürlichkeiten gereinigt worden . . . die . . . interpunktion aber habe ich energisch modernisiert." Now a normalization of orthography for a critical edition of an author can surely be based only on that author's usage at the time in question. Sufficient evidence as to what Schiller's usage was in the year 1781 may be gathered from the edition of the *Briefe* by Jonas. Accepting this principle, Stammler's changing of *ck* into *k* is justifiable—the ten or twelve instances of *ck* in the *Anthologie* may actually be put down to the score of the compositor. Such is not the case with the change of *dt* to *d* in *Todt* (7, 32; 24, 1; 28, 44), witness the letters, Jonas I, 14 and I, 22; nor with the alteration, in the inflected forms of *süsz*, of *sz* into *s* (35, 32; 35, 42; 37, 68). In regard to the latter Stammler is, in fact, remarkably inconsistent: 32, 3 he changes *süser* into *süszer*—the opposite of his usual procedure, and perhaps a misprint—while 11, 7 and 14, 98 he retains an original *sz*, 11, 7 being, to be sure, an instance in rime. For *sz* see Schiller's letter to Petersen, Jonas I, 16. It is also not wise to attempt to introduce by means of the apostrophe a differentiation between preterit and present forms: in some cases, as *e. g.* in 18, 29, *Vater Föbus hört mit Lachen*, there is no certainty that a preterit and not a present is intended.

A normalization of punctuation such as Stammler has carried through is still more dubious in a critical edition of an eighteenth century poet, and there is no warrant for it whatsoever in Schiller's letters. If such a leveling be undertaken, it must proceed on the basis not of what would be expected in a modern production but of what is normal for Schiller at the given time. And that this punctuation, call it "unglaublich verworren"[3] if you will, is not due to the idiosyncrasies of a type-setter but is characteristic of the man at the time, may furthermore be shown by pointing out how regular is in comparison the punctuation of some of the other contributions to the *Anthologie*. Besides, such leveling may at times destroy indications as to manner of reading. Indications of this nature I should find in the use of commas 25, 30; 33, 88; 46, 4; 46, 21; all of them passages where these signs have, in accordance with modern usage, been removed by Stammler. So the interrogation in 29, 16 may be entirely correct, and even if it is not, its occurrence in the original text should be noted in the variants. The same remark applies, with even greater force, to 42, 7.

For *Die Seeligen Augenblike* (No. 9) the variants from Stäudlin's *Musenalmanach* are incomplete and in two instances (ll. 8 and 11) inaccurate, this latter all the stranger since Goedeke gives in both instances the correct readings.

Misprints have been noted as follows: 4, 1 (*Himmels!*); 4, 23 (*Das* = *Des*); 9, 36 (*archerontschen* = *acherontschen*); 14, 35 (*Flut*); 28, 14 and 16 (*'s* as in 29, 12); 28, 27 (*Mich* not spaced); 34, 8 (*Hohl*); 37, 53 (*win* = *winkt*); 37, 65 (*Lieben* = *Leben*); 40, 16 (*Dein* = *Deine*); 47, 5 and 6 (*S'regnet* and *S'g'wittert*).

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Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: a Memoir. By James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1913. 8vo., xx + 228 pp.

Ever since the late Cristóbal Pérez Pastor revolutionized the study of Cervantes by the publication of one hundred and sixty-one new

[2] See J. Hartmann, *Schillers Jugendfreunde*, p. 110.

[3] Leitzmann, *Euphorion*, XV, 217.

documents relating to that writer, his family, and his friends,[1] a new biography of the author of *Don Quijote* has been a need recognized among scholars. While Professor Wallace's important discoveries relating to Shakespeare have attracted so much popular attention, the general reading public in England and America has been ignorant of the far richer mass of material illuminating the life of Shakespeare's great contemporary which the archives of Spain have yielded up. For this indifference the English reader is not to blame. The results of recent investigations have never before been brought to his attention in their entirety, although Fitzmaurice-Kelly has himself used some of them in his more recent writings, notably in the two studies devoted to Cervantes in his *Chapters on Spanish Literature* and his articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

Pérez Pastor's discoveries are not sensational. He discovered, for instance, nothing so interesting as the famous find of Ceán Bermúdez, those documents in which Cervantes, petitioning for an office in the Indies, sets forth his military services and gives a full account of his sufferings in Algiers, documents which the youthful Ticknor saw and studied before their publication by Navarrete. Neither did he find anything so startling as the evidence in the Ezpeleta case which Máinez first published. And happily, too, he found against Cervantes nothing so damning as Lope de Vega's famous libel suit scandal. The value of Pérez Pastor's Cervantine "documents" consists in the many petty details of information which they bring to periods in Cervantes' life which had formerly been dark. No single "document" is in itself of supreme importance; but the sum total of information afforded by the 161 is very great. We know far more about Cervantes' family, his complicated financial negotiations, the events of his last and most fruitful years.

Unfortunately Pérez Pastor, so diligent in unearthing new facts, was less happy in interpreting them. It is his merit that he sought the needle in the haystack, and often found it, without having had beforehand the comforting assurance that the needle actually existed. But having collected his material at the expense of prodigious effort, he showed, in interpreting it, that he was lacking both in the art of presenting his discoveries in attractive form, and, what is more serious, in a judicious, conservative, scientific method. The publication of Cotarelo y Mori's *Efemérides Cervantinas*[2] marked a considerable advance in the interpretation of the new material, but Cotarelo, too, occasionally lets his enthusiasms get the better of his judgment, and with characteristic Spanish gallantry sometimes refuses to look an unpleasant fact in the face, charitably advancing an improbable explanation instead of the disagreeable, but obvious, one.

In the present volume Fitzmaurice-Kelly has attempted a new interpretation of the known facts relating to the life of Cervantes, passing in review the work of all his predecessors from Diego de Haedo down to the present day. His aim is "to place on record all that is positively known of Cervantes' life, to sift the guesses from the facts, and to establish the facts by such evidence as might satisfy a legal tribunal." He prints no new documents, such happy finds are not to be expected of the foreign investigator, and few of the actual facts in the book will be new to Hispanists; but even the latter will find much that is original in the way of interpretation. Few workers in the field have had the patience to digest thoroughly these numerous documents, the exact legal meaning of which the layman often finds it difficult to determine. The way in which Fitzmaurice-Kelly martials his material is wholly admirable. Only proved facts are admitted to the text. Even the most conservative inferences are relegated to the footnotes. Rash speculation is avoided altogether. He eschews all rhetoric, banishes all literary criticism; those in search of this must consult his other books. For the moment his

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*, Madrid, Vol. I, 1897, Vol. II, 1902.

[2] Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas ó sea resumen cronológico de la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Madrid, 1905.

sole aim has been to reduce the life of Cervantes to its lowest terms, to dissipate baseless legends, to place Cervantine biography upon a sound footing which will render impossible for the future any such succession of dilettante lives of Cervantes as those which have appeared in the past. At the risk of being thought a Gradgrind, he has steadfastly stuck to facts, and for this we thank him.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly has avoided that common stumbling-block of many writers on Cervantes, the effort to extract biographical facts from Cervantes' own writings. That these contain much that may be autobiographical is well known; but who, in such cases, can undertake to separate truth from fiction? To illustrate: In *La ilustre fregona* the heroine, Costanza, is courted by a Salamancan student, Tomás de Avendaño, son of a certain Juan de Avendaño. Now, Cervantes had a niece named Costanza who we know received, on the 14th of January, 1614, a remittance of one thousand *reales* from a certain Juan de Avendaño, then in Trujillo, Peru. Now, how easy it is to put two and two together and construct a more or less plausible little romance on the basis of this coincidence of names. But Fitzmaurice-Kelly does not even mention the fact that these names occur in *La ilustre fregona*. He doubtless thinks, and rightly, that such speculations, however interesting and plausible, find no place in scientific biography.[3] One more example of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's praiseworthy conservatism. A document first printed by Gerónimo Morán tells how in September, 1569, a certain Myguel de Zerbantes wounded Antonio de Sigura in a duel and was sentenced to have his right hand chopped off, after which he was to be exiled for ten years. Confirmation of this seems to be afforded by a passage in *El gallardo Español* in which Don Fernando de Saavedra flees to Italy as the consequence of a duel. This interesting story, accepted by many historians as the reason for Cervantes' departure for Italy, Fitzmaurice-Kelly merely mentions in a footnote. There are no chronological difficulties to prevent the identification of Myguel de Zerbantes with our protagonist. But would the evidence "satisfy a legal tribunal"? Fitzmaurice-Kelly evidently thinks that it would not.

There can be no more striking illustration of what the last twenty years have brought us in the way of definite information respecting Cervantes than that afforded by a comparison of the present book with Fitzmaurice-Kelly's earlier *Life of Cervantes*,[4] a work still held in high esteem by everybody except its author, but which unfortunately appeared on the eve of important discoveries which rendered obsolete many of its statements. I take only a few examples out of many. Nearly a whole chapter of the *Life of Cervantes* is devoted to an interesting account of the military campaign in the Azores in which Cervantes was thought to have participated. Instead of this, the present book, following Pérez Pastor, shows that it is next to impossible that Cervantes could have participated in the expedition. A sentence of fact has replaced a chapter of conjecture. But the opposite also occurs. In many places where lack of data forced him to be laconic, the author is now very full. Speaking of Cervantes' sister, Andrea, Fitzmaurice-Kelly had said: "It is no small loss that we are acquainted solely with the tantalising outlines of her sweet, self-effacing, feminine character, with their soft, shadowy suggestiveness of charm." The outlines are now filled in, and in a way wholly unexpected. There are certain of the documents which we wish had never seen the light. The illusions are more satisfactory than the reality. In another place, speaking of Cervantes' daughter,

[3] Cf. Blanca de los Ríos, *Del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 167 ff. Doña Blanca discovered that a Juan de Avendaño matriculated at Salamanca in 1584 and that three years previously there had matriculated at the same university a Diego de Carriazo. This last is the name of another character in *La ilustre fregona*. All this cannot be mere coincidence. But what positive inferences can we draw regarding the life of Cervantes and his family? Fitzmaurice-Kelly plainly does not accept as proved Doña Blanca's theory that Cervantes studied at Salamanca.

[4] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, London, 1892.

Isabel de Saavedra, and her mother, Fitzmaurice-Kelly said: "Nothing whatever is known of her, nothing at this day is likely to be discovered about her; and the whole question might be passed over were it not for the *curiosos impertinentes,* the literary ghouls who manifest their interest in high literature by leaving *Don Quijote* unread, and striving to discover the name of Cervantes' mistress." How little the author of these lines imagined that a priest would unearth details which "literary ghouls" had sought in vain.

If the reviewer has hinted at certain unpleasant things that have been discovered with reference to the Cervantes family, it is not from a desire to emulate the aforementioned ghouls but to stress the fact that we now have a wholly different conception of Cervantes' latter years. He seems to have been a man without "honor," and in an age and country in which the point of honor was most rigidly insisted upon. We are no longer permitted to believe the pleasing legend of Cervantes supporting a poverty-stricken family of seamstresses on the meager earnings of his pen. Although they passed through periods of financial stress, Cervantes' sisters and daughter were usually much more comfortably circumstanced than he. He had something far worse than poverty to contend against. With slight authority in a family of which he was himself the most indigent member, Cervantes seems to have been powerless to control the conduct of his wayward sisters and daughter. If in compliance with the savage honor code of his day he had ruthlessly murdered Isabel de Saavedra or at least crossed swords with her venerable benefactor, Juan de Urbina, he might have risen in public estimation. The age admired the Othellos and had scant sympathy for even a Desdemona. It is to Cervantes' credit that he preferred to practice the Christian forgiveness of his own *Celoso Estremeño.* He was not a Calderonian gallant, but very much of a bourgeois. Brave as a soldier, he was weak and indulgent with his womankind. We can now more easily understand why in his latter years he was something of a *déclassé,* why the Conde de Lemos did not care to take him to Naples in his suite, why in the Ezpeleta trial his family was so persistently persecuted when there was no real evidence against them, why he never achieved high preferment in the public service, why in writing *El celoso estremeño* he elaborated an honor code so at variance with that of his time. There may have been other reasons too, and doubtless there were; but nothing in the seventeenth century could have counted more heavily against a soldier like Cervantes than to be thought careless of the point of honor.

There still remain many baffling points in the life of Cervantes. There are still blank spaces to be filled in. The future may bring surprises. But Fitzmaurice-Kelly has neglected no authentic source of information now available. The limitations of the present volume are those of historical science itself. Few men would care to have their biographies based so largely upon documents revealing their legal and financial transactions. The darker side of Cervantes' life is that of which we have the most complete record. The resultant picture cannot but be slightly distorted. We like to think that those years when he had no legal history were happy years and measurably prosperous. But it is a matter of congratulation that Cervantes' character has met this severe test in so satisfactory a manner. The few very venial faults which have been discovered in it will readily be pardoned. Cervantes continues to be one of the most lovable characters in the history of literature.

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Graded French Method, by William F. Giese. New York, Holt, 1913. x + 438 pp.

It is hard to compose a grammar for beginners under any circumstances. But when, in addition to the exposition of grammatical facts, there is set the condition that from the very outset the student shall acquire a feeling for the language by reading many pages of a foreign text attractive both in style and sub-

ject, the difficulties are greatly increased. Professor Giese offers us "a series of simple graded texts, each illustrating with multiple repetition a given and limited amount of grammatical theory." In his preface, he further points out that "the usual colorless and unimpressive disconnected sentence has been wholly abandoned, for the reason that the student seems to acquire through it but little grammar, still less vocabulary, and almost no feeling for the living language." With surprising fertility, the author has succeeded in producing a large amount of reading matter, in which he hammers home the points of grammar already studied. The "reading" of each chapter is followed by ample opportunity for translation into French of connected prose based on the text and of a drill made up of detached sentences. Throughout the book there is a confessed desire not to bore the student, even the examples of accidence and syntax are such as to spur the attention, e. g., *Toute folle que vous êtes, je vous ai épousée.* (§ 218.)

There could be nothing but praise for this method of teaching, did it not entail unavoidable weaknesses. No matter how skilfully arranged, that which is entertaining in style and in subject cannot be absolutely elementary in language. In order, then, that the text and the grammar may work together, the grammatical material cannot be given in the usual way. There is forced upon it an arrangement which is at times necessarily unnatural. For instance, Mr. Giese gives the rules for the agreement of past participles without explaining the use of *avoir* and *être* as auxiliaries.[1] The complicated syntax of *faire, laisser, écouter, etc.* with a complementary infinitive are given in the first chapter [2] whereas the forms of the finite tenses, of *avoir* and *être,* and of the conjunctive and relative pronouns—all of them so useful for the understanding of the illustrative examples—do not appear till considerably later.[3] The rules for the sequence of tenses in the subjunctive [4] similarly precede by many pages the forms of the imperfect subjunctive,[5] so that the example *Je désirais qu'il partît,* loses much of its value, as does the capital quotation from Georges Sand, which, protesting against the use of the clumsy endings in *-assent* and *-assiez,* is a natural corroboration of the statement that the present is substituted for the imperfect. The same desire to facilitate the reading of an interesting text is no doubt responsible for the introduction of details which can hardly be considered essentials of elementary grammar at all; e. g., the occasional omission of *pas* in a *si*-clause,[6] and such anomalous constructions as *envoyez qui vous voudrez* and *qui plus est, il est aveugle.*[7] The presence of such advanced material is all the more surprising when we note the omission of elementary facts. Mr. Giese, as far as we can see, makes no real statement of what intransitive verbs take the auxiliary *être* (§ 159) says nothing of *il* and *ce* as subjects of *être,* gives no rules for numerals in the writing of dates, and makes no mention of such constructions as *quelque chose de joli,* or *que . . . de possible,* the latter used in one of his own "readings." [8]

It is hardly possible to attribute to the same cause a distinct lack of terseness and clarity in the explanation of grammatical points. The rule for the order of the conjunctive pronouns after an affirmative imperative [9] is excellent in its regard for simplicity and its neglect of variants; but this section is marred by a needlessly complicated presentation of their order in combination when they precede the verb.[10] The treatment of relative and interrogative pronouns is likewise by no means all that could be desired. We can hardly imagine the callow student threading his way successfully through a paragraph like the following: "As direct object *qu'est-ce que* may replace *que* in all cases. As subject *qu'est-ce qui* must replace it

[1] §§ 103–107.

[2] § 99, given in smaller type, indicating that it is mainly intended for reference. The difference in the type should be greater.

[3] §§ 108 ff., 157, 129, 180.

[4] §§ 201, 202.

[5] § 220.

[6] § 123.

[7] § 189.

[8] P. 147.

[9] § 139 b.

[10] § 140.

in all cases except nominative predicate of a few verbs, such as *être, devenir,* and *paraître,* and as subject of impersonal verbs—and here *qu'est-ce que* may replace it." [11] Elsewhere, in his explanation of *dont* (§ 184), Mr. Giese complicates his statement by the needless introduction of a Latin case-name—a practice against which we have already protested.[12] More serious still perhaps is the inclusion of both *Je sais qui vous êtes* and *Je sais ce que vous êtes* as examples of the use of relative pronouns (§ 188). From the English standpoint both "I know *who* you are" and "I know *what* you are" contain interrogatives. The point should be made that the French cannot use all their interrogative pronouns in indirect questions. In the neuter, both subject and direct object, they substitute a relative preceded by a demonstrative.

The main emphasis in this Graded French Method is then, as the author himself suggests, laid on the reading. The various texts are entertaining, instructive and, considering the conditions under which they were composed, surprisingly French. But, on the other hand, the grammar has suffered. The only fair test of a beginners' book is of course, not its effect upon a teacher reading it in his study, but the results it produces in the pupil. Lacking the experience of this ultimate test, however, we are tempted to consider the shortcomings of this volume as an argument against the principles on which it was constructed. If, in order to carry out his method, so careful an author is forced to sacrifice a clear, logical development, to skimp grammatical essentials and to introduce unnecessarily advanced details,[13] the fault must lie with the method itself. Mr. Giese calls the old system with its disconnected sentences "unpedagogic." [14] Far from being that, it still seems to us to be the best way to lay a sound foundation. Not only is it more direct, more logical in its progression and productive of a much-needed training in thoroughness and accuracy; but also, if properly taught, it is not so unattractive as is sometimes supposed. In the hands of a live teacher, it develops in the student a sense of power which soon attracts him in and for itself. And then, with such a foundation, how much more rapid is his progress when he comes to the reading and grammar of more advanced classes!

A review of this book would be incomplete, did it not mention a careful study of pronunciation including the two-page "Alphabet of Phonetic Symbols" contributed by Mr. Barry Cerf.

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Maurice Grammont. *Le Vers français, ses moyens d'expression, son harmonie.* Deuxième édition refondue et augmentée. Paris: Ed. Champion, 1913. 8vo., 510 pp. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris, 5.)

Voici la deuxième édition d'un ouvrage dont la première publication date de 1904. Le livre, dans son ensemble, demeure ce qu'il était: non pas la théorie scientifique du vers français,—qui reste à faire,—mais l'étude précise, approfondie et intelligente d'un homme de goût, sur les moyens d'expression et l'harmonie du vers français. Outre un certain nombre de corrections de détail,[1] cette édition apporte quelques modifications d'un intérêt divers:

[11] § 197. See also § 94 note, both in small type.

[12] *MLN.*, April, 1913.

[13] In addition to what has already been indicated we might mention the following: "mute e" used, §§ 6, 7, has not been previously explained; the examples at times are not adequate, *e. g.*, no example of pluperf. = English past perf. (§ 162); then again they contain either an unusual vocabulary, *e. g., pas d'argent, pas de suisse* (§ 166), or verb forms which, considering the matter already given, cannot be understood, *e. g., il était temps que je vous dise cela* (§ 202), *dussé-je mourir* (§ 206).

[14] Preface.

[1] Tout le chap. I est remanié: le fond reste le même, mais l'ordre y est plus précis et la composition plus serrée. P. 72, M.G. renonce à la boutade qui lui avait fait écrire: "le *Petit Roi de Galice,* dont le fond est en tétramètres, mais où il y a plusieurs trimètres et quelques pentamètres ou hexa-

Tout d'abord, M.G. renonce au "sistème ortografique" adopté dans la première édition, et j'avoue, sous cette forme, trouver plus d'agrément à la lecture de son livre: il y a je ne sais quel malaise à lire des citations poétiques, où l'orthographe traditionnelle est maintenue, encadrées de commentaires où "ritmes," "strofes" et "tipes métriques" sont exprimés en "grafies" réformées.

Le Chapitre II sur *le rejet et l'enjambement* est nouveau. Après l'avoir systématiquement écarté de la première édition, M.G. s'est rendu compte de l'arbitraire d'une telle exclusion et la répare en quelques pages; d'heureux exemples viennent l'illustrer; pour Hugo seul, le choix ne me paraît pas excellent toujours, et l'on pouvait aisément relever chez lui, me semble-t-il, des rejets singulièrement plus expressifs. Au reste, le chapitre dans son ensemble, est le développement des pp. 93–98 du *Petit traité de Versification française* du même auteur.

P. 67 sqq., M.G. refait tout le chapitre sur les "trimètres": il fond ensemble les trois subdivisions d'abord introduites, "vers romantiques," "trimètres de Racine," "trimètres non romantiques." La rédaction n'est pas seule à y gagner: on aperçoit beaucoup mieux de la sorte les transitions entre les techniques des diverses époques, et, au lieu d'une classification un peu sèche et morte, nous apercevons une vivante évolution: le chapitre entier mène ainsi, d'un mouvement logique, à sa conclusion (p. 76): "le trimètre romantique n'est qu'une étape dans l'évolution de l'alexandrin classique."

Le chapitre (p. 84–103) sur la *Variété du mouvement rythmique* est neuf aussi. M.G. y étudie les différences de durée entre deux mesures d'un même vers, et, après avoir indiqué que l'oreille peut malaisément en juger, il affirme que "ce que l'oreille ne peut apprécier exactement, la *phonétique expérimentale* permet aujourd'hui de l'isoler, de le mesurer avec exactitude, et d'en calculer les variations infinitésimales."[2] Ces procédés, M.G. les applique à une analyse de six vers de Victor Hugo, et, à coup sûr, cette étude si scrupuleuse n'est pas sans intérêt. Avouerai-je qu'elle ne m'a pas convaincu? Sans doute M.G. indique (p. 87) que "loin de confier la diction des vers étudiés au premier venu, voire à des illettrés, il n'a jamais eu recours qu'à des personnes—compétentes et expérimentées—qui se sont seulement efforcées de les dire avec le plus de perfection possible, en se conformant aux intentions du poète, telles qu'elles ressortent du détail de la facture." Voilà de rassurantes précautions. Sont-elles toutefois suffisantes pour garantir la rigueur "scientifique" d'une pareille étude? Je ne suis pas grand clerc en déclamation, mais je n'arrive pas à me convaincre que "les intentions du poète" ou "le détail de la facture" exigent pour ces deux vers:

mètres, est une pièce en vers libres." C'était l'expression paradoxale d'une vérité assez simple: mais cela avait choqué le critique de la *Zeitschrift für fr. Spr. und Lit.*, qui l'avait gravement relevé. Le voilà satisfait pour la forme; toutefois l'idée est reprise plus clairement p. 103.—P. 170, on s'étonne de ne voir même pas mentionné le livre de Martinon sur les *Strophes*.—P. 311 sq., M.G. modifie, clarifie et assouplit le chapitre sur le "point d'articulation" dont le titre devient: "Réunion de consonnes diverses."—P. 103, il faudrait corriger: "le chapitre *précédent*" en "l'*avant-dernier* chapitre"; M.G. a oublié qu'il en a intercalé un.—P. 432–437, je regrette que M.G. n'ait pas modifié la forme un peu puérile du "palmarès" où il distribue des "prix d'harmonie" entre les divers poètes, et les place dans l'ordre suivant: Racine, Hugo, Musset, Leconte de Lisle, Boileau, Lamartine. Encore V. Hugo et Racine ont-ils manqué être "ex-aequo"! (p. 436).—On ne peut enfin s'empêcher de regretter une Bibliographie que M.G. était si bien en état de fournir.

[2] M.G. est dur pour les travaux antérieurs: "Tous sont sans valeur, et plusieurs sont ridicules. Leurs défauts viennent de ce que ceux qui les ont faits ignoraient ce que c'est qu'un vers français."—Ne viennent-ils pas aussi de ce qu' à l'égard du vers français, la phonétique expérimentale, dont nous pouvons attendre beaucoup pour l'avenir, n'en est pas arrivée encore à l'ère des conclusions? La même impression se dégage de la thèse importante de M.G. Lote sur *l'Alexandrin français d'après la phonétique expérimentale* (Paris, 1913), où de très laborieuses recherches n'aboutissent en somme qu'à des conclusions en général assez prévues, et quelques-unes d'une évidence qui pouvait s'accommoder d'un appareil moins imposant.

Qu' est-ce que le Seigneur va donner à cet homme
Qui, plus grand que César, plus grand même que Rome. . . .

Qu'est	-ce que le Seigneur	va donner	à cet homme	. . .
97	22 18 15 39 93	27 30 35	18 17 37 54	
97	187	92	126	

une diction telle que la syllabe *Qu'est* ait une durée plus longue que n'importe laquelle des vingt-trois autres ($^{97}/_{100}$ de seconde, contre $^{74}/_{100}$ pour—*sar* ou $^{56}/_{100}$ pour *Ro*[me]);—ni telle que le premier *grand* mérite $^{51}/_{100}$ de s. contre $^{41}/_{100}$ au second. A la vérité, je suis assuré que ces vers ont été bien dits: mais encore, y a-t-il là une base suffisante pour établir des conclusions générales, et qui méritent le titre de "scientifiques"?[3]

Mais voici qui est plus grave: introduisant ce nouveau chapitre, M.G. ne semble pas s'être demandé s'il ne venait pas, sur quelque point, contredire les théories développées dans le reste de l'ouvrage. Or, il me paraît que, sur l'un des points essentiels, il a laissé subsister une étrange contradiction: page 13, on lit: "Quel que soit le nombre des syllabes d'une des quatre mesures, *sa durée* est égale au quart du temps total." C'est le principe, repris de Becq de Fouquières, sur lequel M.G. base toute sa théorie de la valeur expressive des coupes (p. 13–32).—Or l'analyse expérimentale qu'il donne, p. 88–89 de la seconde édition, apporte la vérification du fait exactement contraire:

Courbés	comme un cheval	qui sent venir	son maître
27 36	16 20 26 51	18 24 10 26	26 56 23
63	113	78	105

—exemples qui prouvent[4] que, loin d'être égale au quart du temps total, la durée de chacune des quatre fesures peut, dans le cas présent, être tantôt très voisine du $\frac{1}{6}$, tantôt du $\frac{1}{3}$. A quoi faut-il donc croire? et quelles conclusions sont les bonnes? celles qui reposent sur le principe de la p. 13, qu'on nous dit être démontré, ou celles basées sur les recherches expérimentales?

Sur un autre point encore, quelques réserves me paraissent nécessaires: suivant les errements de Becq de Fouquières,—et dans le désir d'établir une conformité un peu artificielle avec les divisions rythmiques des musiciens, M.G. persiste, dans cette seconde édition, à couper en deux les mots terminés par une muette, de façon à ce que la mesure s'achève sur une tonique, comme les mesures musicales sur un temps fort, la syllabe muette étant comptée dans la mesure suivante; d'où cette affirmation que, "dans le vers français une mesure finit toujours avec une syllabe tonique." Mais à la vérité, peut-on admettre cette façon de couper (p. 26 sq.) les vers suivants:

Lynx envers nos pareils, et *tau* | *pes* envers nous. . .
Phè | *dre* depuis longtemps ne craint plus de rival . . .
Rou | *le*, déjà poussé par la main des hivers . . .
Puis, à pas lents, musique en *tê* | *te*, sans fureur. . . .

Ces coupes sont inacceptables sitôt que l'on veut "dire" de tels vers, et il est singulier que M.G. qui a si profondément ce que Gaston Paris appelait "le sentiment du vers vivant," ait pu s'accommoder d'un pareil procédé.

Tout cela n'enlève que fort peu de chose à la valeur d'un tel ouvrage; il reste ce qu'il était dès le premier jour; l'étude minutieuse d'un homme de goût, à l'oreille très exercée, à la sensibilité artistique toujours en éveil, et qui apporte des analyses rythmiques extrêmement ingénieuses et fines; on ne saurait trop recommander la lecture des pages où, vers à vers, il

[3] Cet élément "subjectif," cet "impressionnisme," que l'on veut fuir en usant des moyens mécaniques de mesure, où va-t-il se nicher? "Les vibrations telles que nous les voyons sur nos tracés, lisons-nous p. 87, ne sont pas les vibrations réelles de notre voix. Elles ont été transmises par l'intermédiaire d'une membrane au stylet qui les a enregistrées. Ce[t]te membrane, quelle qu' en soit la nature, caoutchouc, papier, ébonite, lamelle d'acier, d'or, de verre, de mica,—les a déformées." M.G. Lote lui aussi reconnaît (p. 1) que la qualité des membranes de caoutchouc n'est pas immuable—"Mais, ajoute-t-il, ce détail n'a pas d'importance en ce qui nous occupe, les proportions restant égales." C'est aisément se rassurer: n'empêche que "l'enregistreur" lui-même a son équation personnelle, comme un simple critique dramatique.

[4] Noter que c'est aussi la conclusion des recherches de M.G. Lote, p. 114, sq.

étudie *les Deux Pigeons* (p. 147–154), ou *le Lac* (p. 181), les *Djinns* (p. 182–184), *Napoléon II* (p. 188–191), et où, suivant les contours et détours de la forme poétique, il mesure et révèle sans cesse l'appropriation exacte du rythme à l'idée, du vers au sentiment. Sur la valeur expressive des voyelles et des consonnes, sur ces mystérieuses correspondances sonores qui font l'harmonie du vers, M.G. a des pages subtiles et délicates. Peut-être regretterai-je la forme un peu trop systématique de l'exposition; tout cela est vrai sans doute, je le veux;—mais vrai en gros et en général; réduit en règles strictes, cela aboutit à condamner des vers dont d'autres s'accommoderaient sans aucune gêne (Cf. "*Vers imparfaitement harmonieux*," p. 417–427): on peut interjeter appel pour des vers comme ceux-ci, dont M.G. décrète "l'harmonie très difficile à saisir":

Comme eux vous fûtes pauvre, et comme eux orphelin. . . .
Et les os des héros blanchissent dans les plaines. . . .

On peut ne pas consentir à mettre sous la rubrique "*harmonie très faible*" (p. 425) des alexandrins comme:

Les souffles de la nuit flottaient sur Galgala. . . .

ou parmi les vers d' "harmonie presque nulle" (p. 427):

Qui ne livre son front qu' aux baisers des étoiles. . . .

ou:

D'une blanche lueur la clairière est baignée. . . .

Mais aussi pourquoi ces vers ne consentent-ils pas à se plier au "Système"?

Et, d'ailleurs, à l'égard de la valeur expressive des voyelles, sur laquelle M.G. a écrit tant de choses fines et indiscutables, l'exposé n'eût-il pas gagné en force persuasive à être présenté sous une forme moins systématique et arbitraire? En tout cela. les impressions personnelles de l'auteur n'ont guère moins de place que les données scientifiques incontestables; et je ne puis m'empêcher de relever un mince détail qui témoigne de la relativité de telles affirmations; p. 287, le titre courant qui était *expression de l'admiration* devient dans la nouvelle édition, *expression de la contemplation* et il s'agit des mêmes exemples et des mêmes commentaires; à moins d'admettre que "contemplation" et "admiration" sont strictement synonymes, faut-il donc croire que, de 1904 à 1913, la valeur expressive des voyelles a évolué, —ou tout simplement que de telles conclusions n'ont pas la rigueur qu'on veut leur donner?

L'ouvrage de M.G. est d'une lecture extrêmement facile et attachante: s'il ne fait pas la lumière décisive sur toutes les lois cachées de la versification, il est, pour lire des vers français et les aimer, pour mieux pénétrer "le secret profond de l'harmonie qui chante sur les lèvres françaises depuis mille ans,"[5] le plus intelligent et le plus délicat des guides.

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A Middle English Bibliography—Dates, Dialects, and Sources of the XII, XIII, and XIV Century Monuments and Manuscripts, exclusive of the Works of Wyclif, Gower and Chaucer and the Documents in the London Dialect. Compiled by JOHN MANNING BOOKER. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1912. 8vo., pp. 76.

Dr. Booker's Bibliography is divided into two parts: the first—"Monuments" (pp. 1–52)—consists of a list of titles alphabetically arranged; the second—"Manuscripts" (pp. 52–76)—consists of a list of the manuscripts in which the material is preserved. It would have been of assistance to those who use this book, if the compiler had stated in definite terms the principles which governed him in admitting or excluding material. As nearly as one can judge from examining the lists themselves these principles were as follows:

[5] Gaston Paris. Préface de la trad. franç. du *Vers français* de Tobler.

1. Unprinted documents are not included, nor are references added to still unprinted manuscripts of texts included in his lists.

2. The date of the earliest extant manuscript rather than that of the composition of the text is taken as the basis. This means that fourteenth century material which occurs only in manuscripts subsequent to 1400 is ignored,[1] while in the case of a document preserved in fifteenth century as well as fourteenth century manuscripts, the latter alone are recorded.

3. Similarly, in applying the test of dialect in order to exclude documents within the London district, the dialect of the scribe, not that of the author, is the determining factor. Accordingly, *Adam Davy's Dreams,* even though composed at London, is admitted because the manuscript in which it is contained was written outside the precincts of this dialect. On the other hand, in repeated instances texts composed in other dialects are denied a place for the reason that they are preserved in manuscripts of the district of London.

It is easy to understand how this method came to be adopted when one notes Dr. Booker's statement in the Preface, that the Bibliography was originally designed for his own use in connection with his work on a purely linguistic problem. Nevertheless, the system has obvious disadvantages for those whose primary interest may be in the texts themselves rather than in the dialect color given to them by the scribes who copied them. Such persons will not easily be reconciled to the omission of the large amount of fourteenth century material which happens to be preserved in manuscripts after 1400.

Anyone who undertakes to draw up a list of Middle English compositions will find in the short poems his most vexing problem. Shall the title of each of these poems be listed, or shall a collection of these poems included in a single manuscript be treated as a unit? Dr. Booker wavers between the two methods. The *Five Joys of the Virgin* and the *XI Pains of Hell,* in Jesus College MS. 29 are entered as separate titles, but the rest of the contents of the manuscript—including the important *Proverbs of Alfred*—are grouped under the title, "An Old English Miscellany." As the result of this arrangement one who consults the Bibliography for information concerning a particular piece of verse is likely to meet with difficulty. The poem which he seeks may be registered under its proper title, but it is more likely to be concealed in some of the numerous collections. And it may not occur to everyone in quest of *The Land of Cokaygne,* for example, to look for it under the heading, "Die Kildare Gedichte."

The manuscripts cited in his list of documents are only those from which the text in question has already been printed. Even these, however, are not always registered. The *Poema Morale* has also been printed from Egerton MS. 613 (Furnivall, *Early Eng. Poems,* pp. 22–34; *Old Eng. Hom.* I, 288 ff.), Jesus College Oxford MS. 29 (*Old Eng. Misc.,* pp. 58–71), and McClean MS. 123 (A. C. Paues, *Anglia* XXX, 217 ff.), though none of these manuscripts is mentioned. Under *Cursor Mundi,* not only are the three fifteenth century manuscripts—Trinity, Fairfax, and Bedford—ignored, but also the fourteenth century Göttingen MS.

In citing editions of the texts included in his list Dr. Booker makes no attempt at completeness. Ordinarily, he gives reference to only a single edition of the text. Thus, under *Athelston* the edition in *Englische Studien* is cited, but the print in *Reliquiae Antiquae* II. 85 ff. is ignored. Mall's edition of the *Harrowing of Hell* is the only one cited, the texts printed by Collier, Halliwell, Laing, and Böddeker are ignored, and a reference to Hulme's edition is introduced under "Date of Original." Under *Havelok* one finds a citation of Skeat's Clarendon Press edition, but no mention of his E. E. T. S. edition. Holthausen's edition is casually mentioned in the authorities to the dialect of the poem. Lack of space prevents further illustration of this point.

Dr. Booker would have saved himself from error more than once by consulting the descrip-

[1] Dr. Booker relaxes this rule by admitting three 15th century MSS.—Harl. 4196, Cott. Galba E. ix, and Egerton 927. But if all 14th century material preserved in manuscripts later than 1400 had been included his list would have been greatly extended.

tions in the published catalogues of manuscripts. For example, he would have discovered that "Laud I. 74" and "Laud 622," which he enters as separate manuscripts, are merely the earlier and later designations of the same codex—which is properly known as "Laud Misc. 622." Again, Dr. James's *Catalogue of the Trinity College Cambridge Mss.* (1900) would have enabled him to identify as MS. B. 14. 39 the manuscript which he refers to vaguely as "Trinity Cbr." (p. 24). He would have learned further that instead of being "Now lost," this manuscript was recovered in 1896. The manuscript entered as "Bodleian 9995 (formerly Tanner 169*)" is incorrectly designated: Tanner 169* is its present pressmark, and 9995 is its number in the Summary Catalogue. The manuscript cited as "Bodleian Additional 30519" is actually Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. f. 2; 30519 being the Summary Catalogue number.

Again in the dates which he assigns to manuscripts, Dr. Booker sometimes falls into error through neglecting recent authorities, as will be seen from the following enumeration, in which the opinion of recent authorities [bracketed] are contrasted with Dr. Booker's dates:

Addit. 10036; 2nd half xiv. [xv cent.—Ward, *Cat. of Rom.* I, 187; beg. of xv—Herbert, *Titus and Vespas.*]

Addit. 22283; no date given. ["1380–1400"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 763.]

Arundel 57; 1340. ["About 1350"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 307.]

Arundel 292; about middle of xiii. ["Late xiii"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 163.]

Harl. 3954; xiv. ["About 1420"—Furnivall, *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems* (rev. ed.) p. 238.]

Laud Misc. 622; 1380–1400. ["About 1400"—Herbert, *Titus and Vespas.*]

Cott. MS. Otho C. xiii; 3rd quarter xiii. ["Late xiii or early xiv"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 271.]

Royal 12. C. xii; Reign of Edw. II. ["About 1340"—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 316.]

Sloane 1044; xiv. ["xvth cent."—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 489.]

Cott. MS. Tib. E. vii; about 1350. ["About 1400"—*Cat. of Rom.* II, 740.]

Camb. Univ. Gg. 1. 1; 2nd half xiii. ["First third of xiv"—P. Meyer, *Romania* XV, 283.]

Cott. MS. Vitell. D. iii; 2nd half xiii. ["xivth cent."—*Cat. of Rom.* I, 716.]

In compiling a list of Middle English documents it was probably inevitable that there should be some omissions. I cite below printed texts which do not appear in Dr. Booker's register—omitting, of course, those which have been printed since 1907, the date at which his compilation ceased:

Holy-Rood Tree (MS. Bodl. 343, ed. Napier, E. E. T. S., Or. Ser. 103).

Metrical Homilies (Royal Coll. of Phys. MS. Edinb. ed. Small 1862; this text is noted in the MS. list but is ignored in the list of documents).

Life of Thomas a Beket (Harl. MS. 2277, ed. W. H. Black, Percy Soc. LIX).

Titus and Vespasian (earliest MS. Laud Misc. 622—the same which contains *Adam Davy* and *King Alisaunder*—ed. J. A. Herbert. Roxburghe Club, 1905).

Speculum Vitae (an important poem preserved in 32 MSS.; first 370 lines printed *Eng. Stud.* VII, 468 ff.).

Lay-Folk's Catechism (ed. H. E. Nolloth, E. E. T. S., Or. Ser. 118).

Creed and Paternoster (Harl. MS. 3724, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 57).

Interludium de Clerico et Puella (B. M. Addit. MS. 23,986, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 145, Chambers, *Med. Stage*, App. U, W. Heuser, *Anglia* XXX, 306–19).

Pater Noster and Ave (Camb. Un. Hh. 6. 11, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 169).

Creed, Paternoster, etc. (Caius Coll. Camb. MS., ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 169).

Poetical Scraps (Harl. MS. 2316, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* II, 119).

Caiphas (Sloane MS. 2478, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* II, 241).

Herebert's *Hymns and Antiphons* (Phillips MS. 8336, ed. *Rel. Antiq.* I, 86 and II, 225).

Fragmentary Lyrics (Coll. of Arms MS. xxvii, ed. *Rel. Ant.* I, 19–20).

"Wyth was his halude brest," etc. (MS. Ecc. Dun. A. iii. 12, ed. *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, rev. ed., p. 243).

Short Relig. Poems from MS. Harl. 7322 (ed. *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, rev. ed., pp. 249 ff.).

Also, in view of the fact that *Kindheit Jesu* (Harl. 3954) is included, it is surprising to note the omission of other pieces in the same manuscript, *e. g.*, "Filius Regis Mortuus est" (*Pol. Rel. and Love Poems,* pp. 238–242) and the "ABC Poem on the Passion" (*Ibid.* 271–278).

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CORRESPONDENCE

DAUN GERVEYS

Readers of the *Miller's Tale* will recall that the offended lover hastened across the street in the dead of night to a blacksmith's shop, where he found

> A smith men cleped daun Gerveys,
> That in his forge smithed plough-harneys;
> He sharpeth shaar and culter bisily.[1]

One might think that Chaucer here was indulging in a bit of poetic fancy, and sacrificing truth to the exigencies of fiction, if we hadn't a splendid bit of testimony to support the contrary. In 1394 the reputable blacksmiths of London petitioned the mayor "by reason of the great nuisance, noise and alarm experienced in divers ways by the neighbors around their dwellings," that no one in the future should work by night, but only from daylight until 9 P. M., except between November and February, when the hours were to be from 6 A. M. to 8 P. M.[2] Whether or not blacksmith shops were open at night in the 14th century may be of little importance to the student of Chaucer; that this passage beautifully illustrates Chaucer's contemporaneousness *is* significant.

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[1] *Canterbury Tales* (Oxford edition) A 3761-63.

[2] Riley, *Memorials of London, etc.* (London, 1868), pp. 537 ff. Cf. T. C. Noble, *A Brief History of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers,* London, 1351-1889 (London, 1889), p. 62. Both of these authorities refer to *Letter-Book H* (Ed. R. R. Sharpe, London, 1907), fol. ccxcii, but the editor apparently has omitted it.

RECOVERED LINES OF BEN JONSON

Readers of Ben Jonson will be pleased to learn that no. xii of *The Forest* need no longer be considered fragmentary. The poem is addressed to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, and in the Folio of 1616 consists of ninety-two and one-half lines. At the end, Jonson added the words: "The rest is lost." A few weeks ago I turned up the missing portion in *Harl. MS.* 4064, f. 243 verso. I give the passage just as it stands there, except that I have expanded one contraction and placed in brackets for the sake of clearness a line or two from the Folio. Of course we cannot be certain that the text is just as Jonson would have printed it, and in the first ninety-two lines the MS. shows a number of variations from the Folio, though none of great importance.

> [Moods, which the god-like Sydney oft did prove,
> And your brave friend, and mine so well did love,
> Who wheresoere he be] on what deare coast,
> now thinking on you though to England lost
> ffor that firme grace he holdes in *your* regard
> I that am gratefull for him have prepard,
> This hastie sacrifice wherein I reare
> A vow, as new and ominous as the yeare
> before his swift and circled race be run
> my best of wishes; may you beare a sonne.

The attempt to date this piece offers a very pretty little problem. The poem would certainly seem to have been begun about New Year's, since the opening lines evidently contain allusions to the practice of distributing presents of gold and plate on the first of January. But it need not have been completed immediately, for, though intended quite clearly as some kind of memorial or anniversary gift to Lady Rutland, to whom Jonson says he is sending it instead of gold, yet her birth-day (the 31st of January) and the anniversary of her marriage, which took place shortly before the fifth of March, form, together with New Year's, a triad of important days occurring within a short period, and Jonson may very well have intended the fairly long poem to serve as a memorial present for all three. If we may then

assume provisionally that it was begun about January 1 and finished in the course of the next few weeks, how will the recovered portion aid us in determining the year of composition?

An attentive reading of the lines can leave no doubt that the 'brave friend' is the Earl of Rutland. Where then was the earl during January, February, and March, in the various years between his marriage and his death? The expression, 'on what deare coast,' suggests at once that he was abroad. Unfortunately, however, he was in England during the whole of every winter and spring throughout his married life, for we can trace his movements with some minuteness in the *Sidney Papers* and in the MSS. of the Rutland family as published by the Historical MSS. Commission. The hypothesis of a foreign journey, moreover, does not account for the strange expression, 'though to England lost.' When warring in Ireland in 1599, or in Holland in 1600, or when on an official mission to Denmark in 1603, Rutland was not 'lost to England;' on the contrary, he was engaged in her service. One important episode in his life, however, has not yet been mentioned.

Rutland took part in the outbreak of the Earl of Essex on February 8, 1601, and was in consequence imprisoned in the Tower from February 9 until August 8. Let us assume that Jonson begins his poem about January 1 of that year, intending to present it to the Countess in the course of the next few weeks as a gift in commemoration of New Year's day, of her birthday, and of her marriage anniversary. As he proceeds leisurely with its composition, he is astounded to learn that Rutland is in the Tower on a charge of high treason and in danger of losing his head. Jonson is not in a position to speak plainly to the Countess in such a moment of terror and anguish; he is no intimate friend, but merely a patronized poet. Moreover, the matter is political, dangerous to meddle with, dangerous even to write about. All that the poet can do is to allude in dark and enigmatical terms to the trying position in which the Countess is placed, hoping thus to express his sympathy without offence, perhaps without danger. Hence he hastily contrives this mysterious conclusion, of which the language would apply especially well to the anxious period just after the outbreak, when the fate of Rutland was still uncertain. That the poem was actually presented would seem clear from the fact that we have a complete copy of it, and this could hardly emanate from Jonson, who at the time would desire to keep the piece secret and later had lost the conclusion. Indeed, it has been suggested to me that perhaps Jonson felt it unwise to keep the last few lines even in his own possession, and so tore off and destroyed them. The tearing would account in the middle of a sentence, but in the middle of a line, which would not be the case if a separate sheet had been mislaid or lost. I might add in support of this suggestion that Jonson, like any other dramatist of the day, was liable to arrest and examination at any moment. He would not have liked, when summoned before the Council and 'accused of Popery and treason,' as in the case of *Sejanus,* to be also questioned about his sympathy with the Essex conspirators.

This hypothesis seems to account pretty well for all the facts that we are aware of, and I am unable to frame any other that does. The general outline of Rutland's life is clear, and no important event in it can easily have escaped us. It may be remarked that Rutland died in 1612 without issue and that the Countess followed him in a few weeks, so that Jonson's pious 'vow' (he seems to have used the word in the sense of *votum*) remained unfulfilled. May one add that the 'vow' itself suggests that the poem could hardly have been written very long after the marriage in 1599?

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LENORA AND OSSIAN

It is obviously not very difficult to show specific cases of the influence of Bürger's *Lenore* on English poetry, and to show the influence of Macpherson's *Ossian* is even easier. But a poem in which the author, according to his

own admission, deliberately selects elements from both these sources is a literary curiosity of some interest,—all the more so when we find a further admixture of ballad-imitation and sentimentalism. Such a hybrid is Richard Polwhele's *Faithless Comala,*[1] which, so far as I know, has escaped the notice of Germanists and Celtists alike.

Now while about six-sevenths of Macpherson's *Ossian* is not Celtic at all, Polwhele happened in this imitation to hit on two elements which are genuinely Celtic and ancient: the chariot of Cuchulin (whom he calls *Cuthullin,* following Macpherson's blunder) and the Happy Otherworld lying resplendent far to the westward. If Polwhele's verse is rather worse than mediocre, we must at least admit that his poem contains the elements of a good story. And we may also be thankful that the author added his own notes[2] on the source, thus obviating the necessity of renewing the Bürger controversy.

The poem (which is too long to be quoted in full) begins with a conventional description of Comala and her lover, Connal. As Connal starts off for the war, Comala swears to be true to him, adding as a curse in case she prove disloyal:

> May I ride on the wings of the tempest, and fly
> Till I plunge into fathomless night.

In spite of her promise, she almost immediately yields her heart to a hero named Morlo, and the wedding day is fixed. The continuation is as follows:

> That day was at hand. The pale shadows were still:
> The moment of midnight was nigh;
> When in terror she listen'd to wheels on the hill,
> And the trampling of horses hard by—
> And a voice, as in fear: "Haste, my charmer, away!
>
> "Comala! my chariot ascend!
> "'Tis Morlo invites—and thy Morlo obey:
> "O'er the heath let us speedily bend.
>
> "Lo! Connal with vengeance approaches—e'en now
> "The clashing of armour I hear!
> "He comes with his warriors; and, death on his brow,
> "He brandishes wildly the spear."
>
> She sprung to the seat; while aloft on the pole,
> And straight as an arrow he stood:
> And the chariot roll'd hoarse, as the waterfalls roll,
> When Winter descends in a flood.
>
> Like a frost o'er the heath the cold moon-beams were spread:
> The shaggy rocks glitter'd on high:
> And the three mossy stones that gleam over the dead,
> Caught, often, COMALA! thine eye.
>
> And now at the foot of a mountain they came:
> The coursers paw wildly the ground,
> Then wind up the steep, like two volumes of flame,
> To their hoofs as the caverns resound.
>
> Save the din of their course, not a murmur was heard:
> And, as echoed the dingles below,
> Each oak in a pause of still horror appear'd,
> And motionless, gaz'd the fleet roe.
>
> On the top of the mountain scarce rattled the car,
> When off like a meteor it flew:
> And he said, as his steeds lightly gallop'd on air—
> "Now, CONNALL, 'tis vain to pursue!"
>
> "Ah whither, my MORLO! ah where are we borne?"
> (With a cold shriek of horror she cry'd)
> "Never fear! never fear! ere the glimpse of the morn
> "I shall hail thee my high-bosomed bride."
>
> Where they rush'd, the pale tower and the lake and the wood
> Swam in dizzy confusion beneath;
> Till the moon no more glimmer'd, descending in blood,
> To the blast that sang shrill on the heath.
>
> Wide over the foam of the ocean they flew,
> As a gleam from the north would disclose
> The waters that deep in a hollow withdrew,
> Or, roaring in surges, arose.

[1] To be found in *Poems by Mr. Polwhele* (London, 1806), Vol. III, pp. 10 ff.

[2] Polwhele's note (p. 15) is as follows:

"I need not observe, that the idea of this Tale, after the manner of OSSIAN, was suggested by that wild German Story, LEONORA. It may possibly be objected, that the catastrophe is not strictly Ossianic: Perhaps, not. If I transport even Cuthullin's Car into 'the House of Thunder,' I mean not to represent the circumstance as Ossianic, or Runic, or Laplandic: I employ the imagery of Ossian in subservience to my own fancy. Though the single figures be Ossian's, yet the groupes are my own."

Dark-red in the west now a fabric appear'd,
Like cromlechs on cromlechs up-pil'd:
At the sight, the steeds neigh'd, and then dreadfully rear'd,
And snorted, with extasy wild.

"Lo yonder (he shouted) my turrets arise;
"The castle stupendously swells:
"See lights thro' the windows illumine the skies—
"Far within is the feast of the shells.

"The bridesmaids look out from the chambers: behold!
"They beckon, as swift we advance!
"And hark! the magnificent portals unfold:
"Full soon shall we waken the dance."

'Tis the House of the Thunder (she utter'd) O save—
"See—see—thro' the breaches *they* dart!
'O MORLO! look back!—and the lightnings I brave,
"If COMALA yet live in thy heart."

He look'd—It was Connal! "I fell, yester-morn,
"In the fight! But thy bed I prepare!"
Cried the Spectre, his eyes flashing vengeance and scorn;
Then vanish'd, at once, with his car.

Down—down, as to cling to the Thunder she tried,
She dropp'd like an arrow of light:
And whirl'd thro' the tempest the treacherous bride
Was plung'd into fathomless night.

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BRIEF MENTION

The rapid progress that Spain has made in nearly every department of human endeavor, is strikingly exemplified in the development of the arts of printing and bookmaking. No country prints better books than Spain prints today, and what is of more importance, these books are produced at a price so low that they may be enjoyed by the poorest student. Italy had set a fine example in the series of *Scrittori d'Italia* published at Bari by Laterza, but Spain is in nowise behind. To the splendid series inaugurated by *La Lectura*, there is now added the series of works by the *Biblioteca Renacimiento*. This latter is a "Colección de Obras maestras de la Literatura Universal," and the volumes issued so far do all honor to the enterprise. They are printed on excellent paper, in remarkably clear, new type, in volumes of about 350 pages, and are sold at the very low price of 2½ pesetas in cloth, and 3 pesetas in leather. Of these volumes of the *Biblioteca Renacimiento* three have so far appeared that are of capital importance. (1) *El Pasagero—Advertencias utilísimas á la Vida Humana* por el Doctor Christoual Suarez de Figueroa,—edited by Francisco Rodríguez Marín. This work has not been reprinted since 1618, and is a curious and important book. (2) *Cigarrales de Toledo*—por el Maestro Tirso de Molina,—edited by Victor Said Armesto. This is a reprint of the first edition of 1624, with the help of that of Barcelona, 1631. It is to be regretted that the comedias are omitted. (3) *La Dorotea*, acción en prosa, de Fray Lope de Vega Carpio—edited by Américo Castro, with a facsimile and an excellent reproduction of the portrait of Lope by Luis Tristan. These are all important volumes edited by well-known scholars, and their work has been excellently done. All these books had become excessively rare, and two were practically inaccessible: now they may be read without the fatigue to the eyes that the old prints cause, and the student need not read them in a borrowed copy. These volumes should be welcomed by all who take an interest in the literature of Spain.

H. A. R.

The annual report of the *Deutsche Kommission* of the Prussian Academy (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1914, No. VI) gives a comprehensive survey of its various activities. One of the most important of these is the *Inventarisation der deutschen Handschriften*, an inventory and analysis of all manuscripts written in German or referring in any way to German culture and history. Not only the well-known public libraries, but also small and remote collections, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, Scandinavia and Great Britain are minutely searched, and the material thus collected is digested by a trained staff. To date nearly 8,000 MSS. have been described: to these there is a reference index of 370,000 cards, a proportion which affords an idea of the thoroughness and detail with which the contents are analyzed. For the *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* a number of

volumes are in press: *Rudolfs von Ems Weltchronik; Das Väterbuch; Die Pilgerfahrt des träumenden Mönchs; Gedicht von Johannes und Maria Magdalena; Das Marienleben des Schweizers Wernher.* The *Wieland-Ausgabe,* formerly under the direction of Erich Schmidt and B. Seuffert, is now to be in sole charge of the latter. Several volumes appeared during the year, others have been assigned, and the important critical apparatus to vols. I–IV and X is promised for the near future. Three dialect dictionaries are being prepared under the direction of the Commission: *Das Rheinische Wörterbuch,* previously edited by Franck, and since his death by Josef Müller of Bonn; *Das Hessen-Nassauische Wörterbuch,* edited by Wrede of Marburg; *Das Preussische Wörterbuch,* edited by Ziesemann. All of these continued their preliminary collections, the *Rheinisches Wörterbuch,* for example, with the aid of more than 400 new collaborators and correspondents. The cards collected to date for this dictionary number approximately 680,000. Last but not least, the *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* begun by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, is making steady progress. The material in hand comprises nearly two million cards; the various parts still unfinished, in letters G, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z are in charge of nine editors working simultaneously, and independently of each other's progress. It would seem, therefore, that the end of the monumental work is finally in sight.

W. K.

In a pamphlet entitled *Der ideale Mittelpunkt Frankreichs im Mittelalter in Wirklichkeit und Dichtung* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913, 73 pp.), Dr. L. Olschki aims to add another element to the modern conception of the French epic as a product of its time and environment. His purpose is to explain the prominence accorded Paris in the epic literature—a prominence out of proportion both to its traditional and its actual political importance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The key lies, he thinks, in the symbolic character of the kingly figure in the Chansons de Geste. The Carolingian monarch does not there represent a national ruler—he is in that respect only the unimposing overlord of the insignificant Ile-de-France—, but is the imperial head of Christendom, the temporal leader of that broader spiritual France which represented the whole Christian world. Now the Paris of the times when the poems were composed, not representing as yet a national capital, was already the idealistic center corresponding to this spiritual domain. It occupied this place, not of itself, but by reason of the abbey of St. Denis, rich in its royal traditions, monuments, and records. Thus Paris, long before it attained its material and political dominance, constituted "den idealen Mittelpunkt Frankreichs." The manifestation of this pre-eminence in the epic literature in turn materially aided, so Olschki thinks, the other elements which ended by making of Paris a national center, and of France a nation. The study is an interesting presentation of old materials in new relations, and while the author is not in every respect in full accord with Bédier, it is hardly to be doubted that it is one of the new type of studies in the epic of which the inspiration is to be directly traced to Bédier's renewal of the subject.

Poema de mio Cid, edición y notas de Ramón Menéndez Pidal, forming vol. XXIV of the "Clásicos Castellanos" (Madrid, La Lectura, 1913, 8vo., 360 pp.), enables us, at last, to read the poem of the Cid as a monument of literature. The editor's introduction (114 pages) is indeed noteworthy in that it treats the *Poema* as a literary masterpiece rather than as a linguistic document. Especially interesting are the chapters dealing with the literary and stylistic elements of the poem, its portrayal of social and military customs, and its relations to French epic poetry. The edition reproduces the critical text published in 1911, with the divisions into *El Destierro, Las Bodas* and *La Afrenta de Corpes.* In the present case the editor goes further, adding rubrics or chapter headings for each of the 152 assonance-series. Abundant notes serve to interpret the difficult passages in the text, mentioning but rarely the grammatical problems involved. Finally, in view of the accessibility of his *Cantar de Mio Cid,* the editor suppresses all critical, paleographical and bibliographical notes that can be found in the *Cantar.* The present volume is a most valuable addition to the library of Spanish literature; it is prepared for Spanish readers and for those foreigners who have a knowledge of Old Spanish. For the foreign student, there still remains the pressing need of a practical class-room text, with vocabulary and grammatical introduction. Let us hope that such a text will soon be edited by that scholar who is so eminently fitted for the task.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXIX. BALTIMORE, JUNE, 1914. No. 6.

SAMSON AGONISTES 1096

In Beeching's reprint of *Samson Agonistes,* from the earliest printed edition, lines 1093–1097, part of a speech of the Philistian giant Harapha to Samson, run as follows:

> O that fortune
> Had brought me to the field where thou art fam'd
> To have wrought such wonders with an Asses Jaw;
> I should have forc'd thee soon with other arms,
> Or left thy carkass where the Ass lay thrown.

This is the text of many editions, but some give *wish* instead of *with*—'wish other arms' —among them that of A. W. Verity (*Samson Agonistes,* Cambridge, 1912), who bases his text on the first and second editions, and says that the reading *with* has no authority. It is indeed true that the second edition, printed in 1680, six years after the death of Milton, gives 'wish other arms,' and that some later editors have followed it. Nevertheless, in view of the principle that the more difficult of two readings is likely to be the correct one, an editor preferring *wish* should defer to the first edition by retaining *with* in the text. The persistence of the two readings makes the subject worthy of examination.

The reading 'wish other arms' (to be interpreted *to wish for other arms*) implies that after *forced* Milton has used the infinitive without *to,* in the manner of the Elizabethans; Shakespeare, for example, writes:

> I'll force
> The wine peep through their scars
> (*Ant. & Cl.* 3. 13. 190).

If so, Milton has used the construction nowhere else in his poetry, not even after verbs similar to *force,* or after any of those given by Franz (*Shakespeare-Grammatik,* § 493) as employed by Shakespeare, contrary to present usage, with a simple infinitive following.

When *wish* is read, lines 1096–1097 are to be paraphrased: 'I should have made you desire better weapons, or killed you.' What is the force of the alternative? It is unlikely that Harapha means, 'I should have frightened you or killed you'; though he might be thought of as saying, 'I should have frightened and killed you.' If *with* be retained the lines mean: 'I should have overcome you (taken you prisoner) with arms more effective than a jawbone, or killed you.' This brings out the alternative—a usual one in such a combat as that imagined by Harapha, for 'this mortal duel' (line 1102) is like those of classical or medieval[1] times, in which the vanquished is either slain or yields himself to the mercy of the victor. Such a use of the verb *force* is found elsewhere in Milton. First may be quoted from the sonnet *On the new forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament,* besides the title itself, the line:

> To force our Consciences that Christ set free.

The context, and especially the contrast with *set free,* suggests that the word has some such meaning as 'bring under bondage.' Similarly in the lines:

> What will they then
> But force the Spirit of Grace it self, and binde
> His consort Libertie? (*P. L.* 12. 524–6).

force is almost synonymous with *bind,* meaning 'make captive.'

On the occurrence of *with* in line 1095 as well as in line 1096, and in almost the same position in the line—a condition seeming to favor *wish,* because the second *with* may have

[1] The whole conversation between Harapha and Samson is influenced by the romances of chivalry. Harapha is a boastful knight, own brother to Spenser's Braggadocchio. He represents himself as longing, after the fashion of errant knights, to meet Samson in a 'listed field.' The Hebrew is a formidable antagonist because, like those with whom adventurous knights often fought, he has been made invulnerable by

> spells
> And black enchantments, some Magicians Art
> (1132–3).

Harapha will not stain his honor by a contest with one whom no true knight should engage in single combat (1166, 1226). There are in the passage many other suggestions of knightly combat, or trial at arms.

been suggested by the first—it may be remarked that the *Samson* has, in proportion, as many repetitions of sound, structure, and sense, for the sake of vividness as some of Shakespeare's sonnets. Some of them, as in the following lines, are elaborate:

> Fathers are wont to lay up for their Sons,
> Thou for thy Son art bent to lay out all;
> Sons wont to nurse their Parents in old age,
> Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy Son,
> Made older then thy age through eye-sight lost.
> (1485–9.)

Since examples may be found on every page it is needless to quote further. Apparently Milton uses the similar expressions *with an Asses Jaw* and *with other arms* in the same part of consecutive lines to emphasize the contrast between the equipment of Samson and Harapha that runs through the whole interview. The word *other,* in *with other arms,* should probably be read emphatically to bring out this contrast; Harapha means with his own military weapons, against which the rude arm of the unmilitary Samson would have availed little. In *wish other arms, other* does not bring out the contrast of Harapha's conventional military equipment with the improvised weapon of Samson, but means little more than 'better'; Harapha would have compelled the hard-pressed Danite to desire better weapons than the jaw-bone. Samson understands Harapha's phrase as a reference to the Philistine's own equipment, meaning 'with my soldierly arms,' for in his answer he takes up the very words when he sneers *thy gorgeous arms;* see lines 1119–1129. The Philistian giant in reply again contrasts his knightly equipment with that of the unchivalric Samson, this time with less assurance that the weapons of the trained soldier certainly will obtain him victory.

> Thou durst not thus disparage glorious arms
> Which greatest Heroes have in battel worn,
> Their ornament and safety, had not spells
> And black enchantments, some Magicians Art
> Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong. (1130–35.)

He declares further that Samson is

> no worthy match
> For valour to assail, nor by the sword
> Of noble Warriour, so to stain his honour,
> But by the Barber's razor best subdu'd (1164–7);

and answers a repeated challenge to combat:

> To fight with thee no man of arms will deign (1226).

After the boastful Philistine departs the chorus shows how little military equipment avails against the champion of Heaven.

> He all their Ammunition
> And feats of War defeats
> With plain Heroic magnitude of mind
> And celestial vigour arm'd,
> Their Armories and Magazins contemns,
> Renders them useless (1277–82).

The reader of the drama has already been prepared to see how empty are Harapha's vaunts of his prowess in arms by the first speech of the chorus, telling how ridiculous the weaponless Samson made the arms of warriors; see lines 124–145. After these verses the assertion by Harapha that he 'should have forced Samson with other arms'—have overcome him easily with the arms of the warrior—is full of irony.

If the reading *with* gives a line in harmony with Milton's habits of language and versification, suitable to its context, of dramatic value, and of aid in bringing out clearly a thought important in the drama, there is no reason why the lover of Milton should not accept the authority of the only edition of *Samson Agonistes* printed during the lifetime of its author.

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THE THREE KINGS OF RACINE'S *ANDROMAQUE,* ACT V, SCENE 2

In a passage of the *Andromaque,* Hermione, daughter of Helen of Troy, frenzied with rage at the thought of the cruel wrong Pyrrhus is doing her by repudiating her in order to marry his captive Andromache, exclaims:

> Quoi? sans qu'elle employât une seule prière,
> Ma mère en sa faveur arma la Grèce entière?
> Ses yeux pour leur querelle, en dix ans de combats,
> Virent périr trois rois qu'ils ne connaissaient pas.
> vv. 1477–1480.

The obvious difficulty of identifying from the natural sources (the Homeric poems) the "three kings" to whom Hermione refers is doubtless the reason why most modern texts of the *Andromaque* present *vingt rois* in place of *trois rois* found in the passage as cited above.[1] Even Paul Mesnard in the first print of his *Œuvres de J. Racine*, Grands Écrivains series, Paris, 1865–1873, while protesting against the arbitrary changes made in the text by previous authoritative editors like Geoffroy and Aimé Martin, still offers the reading *vingt rois*. But in his reprint of 1885–1888, in which he claims to have rigorously followed the text of the last edition published under Racine's supervision (1697) and to have collated it with all the previous editions, the *vingt* is replaced by *trois* (II, p. 119). He gives no variants and he makes no comment. As no one has questioned the fidelity with which Mesnard accomplished his task, it would seem that the reading given above must be accepted.

What basis, then, could Racine have had for saying so precisely that Helen saw three kings perish whom her eyes did not know? One would suppose that Helen could not have failed to meet the Trojan auxiliary kings at the court of Priam unless indeed, as in the case of Rhesus, they had been killed before they arrived there. On the other hand, it was a tradition universally accepted, at least in the seventeenth century, that she had been wooed by chiefs from all parts of Greece. Furthermore, in a well-known passage of the third book of the Iliad, Helen views from the walls of Troy the army of the Greeks drawn up in battle array; she names many of the foremost chieftains and adds that she recognizes "all" the rest. If verse 1480 is taken in its strictly literal sense: "her eyes saw three kings perish (i. e., get killed) whom they (her eyes) did not know," it would seem impossible for us, and Racine's resources were more limited than ours, to name with confidence any three kings who could qualify for the distinction accorded them in this passage.

[1] Cf., for example, Petit de Julleville, *Théâtre choisi de Racine*, Paris, 1906; and Warren, *Andromaque, Britannicus, Phèdre*. New York, Holt, 1903.

The zeal with which Racine studied the classics is well known. The notes which he wrote upon the margins of plays of the Greek tragedians and of the Odyssey and Iliad of Homer have been published in his works (Vol. VI). They throw no light upon this problem. But there was another account of the Trojan war which continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the vogue it had enjoyed during the middle ages. This was the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*, composed, it is said, by Dictys of Crete in the course of the fourth century A. D. The British Museum contains an edition for which the date 1470 is postulated. Three other editions at least were made during the fifteenth century: Mediolani, 1477, Messanae, 1498, Venetiarum, 1499. In the sixteenth century, editions, either independent or in connection with other ancient historians, are numerous. Basileae, 1529, 1548, 1559, 1578; Lugduni, 1520, 1552, 1569, 1598; Parisiis, 1560; and in the seventeenth century, Paris, 1618, Amstelodami, 1631.[2] Such finally was the consideration which it enjoyed that it was included in the famous Delphin edition of the classics, Paris, 1680.[3] It was translated into French by Ian de la Lande, Paris, 1556. Racine and his contemporaries must have been quite familiar with it.

In the second book, Dictys describes the preliminary skirmishes which the Greeks had to undergo when they first landed upon the Trojan shores. In one of these Protesilaus was killed. While the Greeks were performing the funeral rites over his body, one Cycnus, whose kingdom was very near Troy, put them to flight. Achilles came to the rescue and killed this king and a great many of his followers.[4] Thereupon a council was held and it was decided (decernitur), "uti primum finitimas Troiae civitates cum parte exercitus adeant easque omni modo incursent" (XIII).

[2] See Catalogue of the British Museum.

[3] Cf. N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys*, Johns Hopkins Dissertation, Baltimore, 1907, p. 17.

[4] Dictys Cretensis, *op. cit.*, II, xii. The following citations are taken from D. C., *Ephemeris Belli Trojani*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1872, pp. 25 ff.

In pursuance with this policy, "Achilles . . . sumptis aliquot navibus Lesbum aggreditur ac sine ulla difficultate eam capit et Phorbanta loci ejus regem multa adversum Graecos hostiliter molitum interficit" (XVI). The country was ravaged, the submission of the neighboring peoples (finitimi populi) was received and then: "Achilles haud contentus eorum quae gesserat, Cilicas aggreditur, ibique Lyrnesum paucis diebus pugnando cepit. Interfecto dein Eetione, qui his locis imperitabat, magnis opibus naves replet . . . propere inde Pedasum expugnare occepit, (Leleg)um urbem, sed eorum rex Brises ubi animadvertit in obsidendo saevire nostros, ratus nulla vi prohiberi hostes aut suos satis defendi posse, desperatione effugii salutisque attentis ceteris adversum hostes domum regressus laqueo interiit" (XVII). In the meantime Ajax Telamonius, who had been entrusted with the other division of the army designated for this work, "Thracum Cherronesum omni modo infestabat." Polymnestor, king of these regions, submitted, and Ajax filled his ships with spoils. Then, . . . "his actis Aiax iter ad Phrygas convertit ingressusque eorum regionem Teuthrantem dominum locorum solitario certamine interfecit ac post paucos dies expugnata atque incensa civitate magnam vim praedae trahit" (XVIII).

Five kings then, according to Dictys, perished during the expedition of the Greeks to recover Helen before the siege of Troy began. Now the first of these, Cycnus, ruled, according to Dictys, over a state which was very near Troy ("cujus haud procul a Troia regnum"). The promptness of his attack upon the Greeks suggests close alliance with the Trojans. So it would be presumed that Helen had had an opportunity to make his acquaintance. Briseus fell a victim to his cowardice, or to his despair at seeing his daughter Hippodamia (Briseis) wrested from him by Achilles, as some traditions have it. At any rate he would hardly seem to deserve a place in this passage where Hermione, desperate over the conviction that she has no champion, recalls those who perished fighting in the battles caused by her mother's beauty.[5] In reading the second book of Dictys one is likely to be impressed by the fact that here are three kings, Phorbas, Eetion and Teuthras, who were actually killed in battle because of the trouble resulting from the abduction of Helen, and in places so remote[6] from Troy, that they seem wholly detached from the main story and its heroine.

But the difficulty is that Hermione says: "My mother's eyes *saw* three kings perish whom they did not know." We may assume that Racine did not expect us to take the words of the overwrought Hermione too literally.[7] The idea she means to convey is perhaps no more than: "My mother's eyes saw it come to pass that three kings whom she did not know perished in her cause." Or we may assume that Racine while reading the account of Dictys Cretensis had been struck by the prank which a perverse destiny played upon these three kings in having them killed in battles so completely outside the ken of her who caused them; that when he came to write this passage of his *Andromaque,* he had forgotten the circumstances, but was conscious that he "had seen somewhere" the statement that three kings, whom Helen could hardly have known, were killed during the expedition which the Greeks made to recover her. Metrical necessities may then have contributed to fix the statement in the form in which it stands.

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[5] One might prefer, to be sure, to eliminate Eetion, king of the Cilices and father of Andromache, on the ground that he would have been called to Troy for the council of the old men called by Priam to decide whether Helen was to be returned to the Greeks (Dictys, I, viii).

[6] Phorbas in Lesbos, Eetion at Lyrnessus, and Teuthras presumably in Teuthrania, his state. Lernessus and Teuthrania seem to have been located near the southeastern borders of Troas. Lesbos, Lernessus and Teuthrania were about equidistant from Troy.

[7] In fact, taken literally, the verse comes near being absurd. Who could believe that even the eyes of Helen were keen enough to enable her to determine exactly whether all the kings whom she saw perish under armor in the mêlées before Troy were or were not included in the extensive list of her kingly acquaintances!

EIN MANN OHNE VATERLAND

Some time ago, the writer, in reading the *Amerikanische Novelletten* of Karl Friedrich von Wickede, came upon a story entitled *Ein Mann ohne Vaterland.* It may be of some interest to note here the history of this narrative and its relation to one of the best known short stories in American literature, namely, Edward Everett Hale's *The Man Without a Country.*

In 1864, after several years of the most varied experiences in America, Karl Fr. v. Wickede[1] returned again to Germany. Upon the encouragement of the novelists Hackländer and Hoefer, founders of the *Hausblätter* (1855), he wrote a series of sketches and novelettes which were afterwards published as *Amerikanische Novelletten* (1878). These were followed by a *Neue Folge* (1879).

Most of the stories in the first series of *Amerikanische Novelletten* are based on episodes of the Civil War, which is natural enough, when we recall that the author had been in America at the time of the Secession. The first of these stories is *Ein Mann ohne Vaterland.* Edward Everett Hale's story had appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1863, the year before Wickede's return to Germany. A comparison of the German with the English reveals the fact that Wickede has skilfully employed Hale's story. The exposition in the German version has been somewhat changed, probably out of consideration for the German public. The episode of the officers' ball on board the "Warren" and Philip Nolan's meeting with the celebrated Southern beauty is omitted, and the whole story cut down by three-fourths. It is not our purpose here to expose what must of course be recognized as an audacious plagiarism on the part of an otherwise meritorious German novelist, as much as it is to state the interesting subsequent history of this German version.

In Potter's *American Monthly* for December, 1881, appeared an account of Philip Nolan under the title of *A Man without a Country.* The following rather startling footnote is added by the editor of the magazine: "The above article is furnished us by one of our contributors, who translated it from the German. Never having seen the article in print before in this country, he requests its publication, for the benefit of those of our readers who also may never have heard or known of the facts stated. The name of the author is not furnished."

At the conclusion of the introduction to the edition of 1897 of *The Man Without a Country,* Edward Everett Hale writes: "About twenty years ago it was translated into German, with the omission of one or two passages, and published in a German journal. As soon as this magazine arrived here the story was retranslated, and reprinted as a German addition to American history, by the editor of the 'American Magazine.' This was after more than half a million copies had been printed in the English language(!)."

A careful comparison of Wickede's German version with that in Potter's *American Monthly* shows convincingly that the latter is a translation from Wickede. The *Amerikanische Novelletten* (Erste Folge) appear to-day as Nr. 909 of Reclam's *Universal-Bibliothek,* in which edi-

[1] Karl Friedrich von Wickede was born at Güstrow in Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1827. In 1843, having attended the gymnasium in Rostock, he entered upon a mercantile career. In 1849 he was seized by the prevailing "Amerika" mania and came to the United States. Probably more attracted to America out of a love of adventure, fostered by the translations of Cooper and the realistic works of Sealsfied and Gerstäcker, than by necessity, Wickede for a time wandered along the Mississippi, with gun upon his shoulder, as Gerstäcker had done before him. Later he entered the postal service in New Orleans, and still later we find him in New York. Suffering from an affection of the eyes, he returned to Germany, only to return soon again to America. After a year in Iowa as farmer and hunter, he came to New York, where he remained two years, upon which he again returned to his native land. Failing in a business enterprise at home, he sailed to America for a third time. The unfortunate wanderer returned to Germany in 1864 and spent a number of years in Mannheim as a teacher of languages. Having incurred the displeasure of the ducal house for writing a work about the mysterious Kaspar Hauser, he was obliged to leave Baden. He then came to Frankfort on the Main, where he died in poverty in 1881.

Cf. Brümmer's *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter des 19. Jahrhunderts.*

tion the abridged form of Edward Everett Hale's *The Man Without a Country* continues to be read in Germany as the work of Karl Friedrich von Wickede.

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THE SOURCES OF *RALPH ROISTER DOISTER*

In the October number of *Modern Philology*, 1913, Mr. James Hinton attacks the traditional and modified traditional views of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus as the source of *Ralph Roister Doister* and proposes in its stead the *Eunuchus* of Terence.

D. L. Maulsby[1] shows that the plots of *Roister Doister* and the *Miles Gloriosus* are dissimilar; pointing out further that there are similarities to *Roister Doister* in other plays of Plautus; but particularly in the *Eunuchus* of Terence. He admits striking parallel passages, however, between the *Miles Gloriosus* and *Roister Doister* and at no time denies that the *Miles* is an important source of the English comedy.

Professor Clarence Griffin Child, in his edition of *Ralph Roister Doister* (Riverside Press Series, 1912), is extreme. By him, says Mr. Hinton, "the simplicity of Udall's plot, together with the fact that his scene is before a single house, not before two houses, as regularly in the Latin comedy, has been adduced as an indication that Udall did not use any Latin comedy as a source except for the suggestion of details and for a general influence on his dramatic technique."

Mr. Hinton's view lies between Maulsby's and Child's. The series stands thus: (1) The *Miles* as sole source (traditional view); (2) The *Miles* as one source (Maulsby); (3) The *Miles* as the source of Ralph; and hence the basic source (the belief of the present writer); (4) The *Eunuchus* as basic source (Hinton); (5) Neither Plautus nor Terence as direct source of "particular scenes for imitation," but both Plautus and Terence as affording "the general conception of effective scenes and situations floating freely in his mind" (Child).

Mr. Hinton says, "Ralph is, at the most cautious estimate, at least as much like Thraso as Pyrgopolinices." He adds in the same paragraph, "It seems strange that one ever should have failed to distinguish these braggart types (*i. e.*, the Plautine and Terentian) or to recognize Ralph as unquestionably Terentian."

Now the Plautine and the Terentian braggarts are quite different, as Mr. Hinton admits in the same paragraph. If so, and if Ralph is unquestionably Terentian, how is he as much like Thraso as Pyrgopolinices? For if he is hardly like Pyrgopolinices at all—and Mr. Hinton adds further that "most of the lines borrowed from Plautus, especially those which are most swollen with exaggeration, are transferred by Udall to the mouth of the flattering Merygreeke, whether they were spoken in the *Miles Gloriosus* by the soldier or the parasite"—if, we say, he is hardly like Pyrgopolinices at all, and yet is as much like Thraso as Pyrgopolinices, then he is hardly like Thraso at all.

On the other hand, to take Mr. Hinton's second statement—that Ralph is unquestionably Terentian, not Plautine: where, we ask, is his proof? He gives none; he merely asserts the following: Ralph is not really a braggart; he has not the extravagant imagination characteristic of the Plautine soldier. He is, rather, "'an easy comical figure' as Colman described the Terentian Thraso—a complacently conceited gull, rather than a blustering swaggerer and teller of 'monstrous lies.'"

Now Colman's definition of the Terentian Thraso as an easy comical figure, a complacently conceited gull, is correct. Mr. Hinton's description of the Plautine braggart as a blustering swaggerer and teller of monstrous lies is also sound.

But to which of the two does Ralph belong? Unquestionably to the Plautine. Compare the braggart passages in *Roister Doister* with the braggart passages in the *Miles* and the *Eu-*

[1] *The Relation Between Udall's Roister Doister and the Comedies of Plautus and Terence. Englische Studien*, 1907, vol. XXX, pp. 251–277.

nuchus. It is unnecessary to take space to quote them, for Mr. Maulsby has already cited the Plautine parallels, and the *Eunuchus* passages are easily obtainable. Such a comparison convinces us that Flügel, Boas, Reinhardstoettner, and Graf are correct in adjudging Ralph Plautine, not Terentian. Even Maulsby and Müller agree that Ralph is based on Pyrgopolinices, with modifications.

If, then, Ralph is Plautine, not Terentian, Mr. Hinton's plea for the *Eunuchus* as the basic source of the comedy is untenable. The question then stands practically as Mr. Maulsby left it. The *Miles Gloriosus* is still the source of Ralph himself; otherwise, "Udall had no exclusive preference for any single play by either of the two authors named in his Prologue" (Maulsby, p. 272).

But Mr. Hinton is not answered so easily. Although, as we have shown, he (1) contradicts himself, and (2) neglects to prove his case for Thraso over Pyrgopolinices as the prototype of Ralph, he has still two further aspects of his burden of proof. Preëminently, there is Merygreeke. "Inasmuch," he says, in the same pregnant paragraph, "inasmuch as the action of *Roister Doister* proceeds from the activities of Merygreeke, it is of first importance to explain his characterization in testing a possible source. Accordingly it has been shown that Merygreeke is derived from the *Eunuchus*, or from no Latin comedy."

Now by noting that both Merygreeke and Gnatho allow their respective patrons to lean heavily upon them, Mr. Hinton has not afforded proof that Merygreeke is based on Gnatho rather than on Artotrogus. Merygreeke merely draws suggestions from the classical parasite generally. As Professor Flügel shows (and Mr. Hinton's footnote has not disproved his position) Merygreeke is himself ultimately a creation, a human, kindly, comical fellow infinitely bigger than his classical originals, a character no more taken bodily from Artotrogus than from Gnatho, but only suggested by either.

If Mr. Hinton asks at this point why, if we agree with Professor Flügel that Merygreeke owes only suggestions to his originals, we do not, with Professor Child, extend the view to include Ralph, making Ralph likewise a triumphant creation of English genius, we reply that we do not believe he is, but agree, as we have shown, with the traditional view that Ralph is based directly on Pyrgopolinices.

But what of the plot? According to Udall and Mr. Hinton the English author sought to produce a comedy mirthful but not wanton. Passing by the coarse *Miles*, says Mr. Hinton, he chose the refined *Eunuchus* (a first-rate Restoration comedy in one scene)! Why Udall's refinement sought the *Eunuchus* rather than the *Miles* is not at first apparent, for Udall was not looking for pure Terentian diction but for pure comic character and situation. But Mr. Hinton tells us. Leaving out of account the indecent major plot he took over the perfectly proper minor plot, the plot in which the gullible captain figures.

But, we ask, was Udall not quite capable of refining the *Miles* without recourse to Terence's version of the Menander braggart comedy? To say that he avoided using the *Miles* because it was not refined and chose a play less refined (in major plot) but more refined in sub-plot, all because he was unwilling or incapable of refining the first (though he needed Pyrgopolinices for Ralph) is not argument. It is merely ballast for Mr. Hinton's burden of proof.

In summary, we think Mr. Hinton has not proved that the *Eunuchus* is the basic source of *Ralph Roister Doister* (1) in the character of Ralph, (2) in the character of Merygreeke, (3) or in plot. We think (1) that Ralph was based on Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* (traditional view), (2) that Merygreeke was the classical parasite generally worked over into an original creation (Flügel), and (3) that the plot was formed by selection from Latin comedy at large, from the *Miles*, the *Eunuchus* and other plays (Maulsby).

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LATIN INFLUENCE ON MEDIEVAL FRENCH ROMANCES

Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge, par EDMOND FARAL. Paris: Champion, 1913. xi + 431 pp.

Of the articles which appear here in book form, the larger number were first published in *Romania* and the *Revue des langues romanes.* They have been revised in part, and increased by editions of some of the poems under discussion, and by two new studies on the origin and development of French court romances. Also by a short bibliography. Their publication *seriatim* gives you, none the less, a sense of unity. For in spite of the amount of detail, the mass of which is fairly overwhelming, the author keeps his object constantly in mind, and steadily argues for the dependence of these medieval compositions on the authors of Latin antiquity, on Ovid particularly.

A short introduction comments on the knowledge of Latin classics possessed by the French poets of the twelfth century, and the way they looked at them, so different from the light in which they were regarded by the men of the later Renaissance. The medieval authors indeed valued them for their form, and expressed this form in *Thèbes* and its fellow romances of antiquity first, rather than in the Breton romances, as is commonly held. These authors were also well acquainted with the didactic writings of the Middle Ages, drawing freely from them—a field of research which would richly repay investigation.

The first topic discussed is the relation of *Piramus et Tisbé* to Ovid. *Piramus* antedates *Énéas* perhaps. Its author was a Norman. He may have known *Thèbes.* He may have suggested to *Énéas* its notions on the effects of love, and some of its ideas of style—the lover's monolog, for instance. *Piramus* would have also anticipated one of Chrétien's affectations, in the interrogative repetition of a word already prominent, as the starting-point of a new development of thought. It would have even given *Aucassin et Nicolete* the outline of its earlier episodes, and perhaps its very form of narrative prose broken by lyric *laisses.* To this chapter new editions of two Latin poems on Pyramus and Thisbe, and the edition of a prose fragment from a French manuscript of the fifteenth century are appended.[1]

The next chapter is on *Thèbes,* which shows Ovidian influence in the detail of the sharpened oak tree used by Capaneus to kill the serpent, borrowed from Cadmus' fight with the dragon. Ovid's description of the Palace of the Sun would have suggested the plan for the decorations on Adrastus' tent in *Thèbes,* and this description, together with its continuation on Phaeton's flight in the chariot of the sun, would have served as a model for the scenes on Amphiaraus' chariot. Finally the account of Pyramus' death in Ovid would find an echo in Atys' death in *Thèbes.*

The reality of one of these resemblances, at least, is open to doubt, and should be subject to further consideration. The decorations of Adrastus' tent constitute what was known to the Middle Ages as a *mappemonde,* and begin with a passage on the five zones. Now these zones were not represented on the Palace of the Sun, and consequently Faral goes back to the first book of the *Metamorphoses,* where they are described as follows:

Utque duae dextra coelum totidemque sinistra
Parte secant zonae, quinta est ardentior illis;
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
Cura dei, totidemque plagae tellure premuntur.
Quarum quae media est, non est habitabilis aestu;
Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locavit,
Temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma.[2]

But *Thèbes* says of the zones:

Par cinc zones la mape dure
Si peintes com les fist nature:
Car les dous qui sont deforaines
De glace sont et de neif pleines,
Et orent inde la color,
Car auques tornent a freidor;
Et la chaude qu'est el me lou,
Cele est vermeille por le fou.
Que por le fou, que por les neis,
N'abite rien en celes treis.
Entre chascune daerraine
Et la chaude, qu'est meiloaine,
En ot une que fu tempree:
Devers gualerne est habitee.

That is, the French poem adds to Ovid's description the idea of the colors of the zones, and insists on the fact that they can or cannot be inhabited.

Now if we turn to another medieval poet, a Latinist, however, Baudri of Bourgueil, we find

[1] The interest which the Norman French took in the *Metamorphoses* had been shown half a century before *Piramus* in a description of the tapestries of Adela of Blois' room by Baudri of Bourgueil. Among the subjects which Baudri saw embroidered there in his vision were the stories of Deucalion and Pyrrha, Phaeton, Ganymedes, Cadmus, Orpheus and Eurydice, Narcissus, and Pyramus and Thisbe. *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie,* série III, vol. VIII (1870), p. 194.

[2] *Met.,* I, ll. 45–51.

in his vision of Adela's room, already mentioned,[3] a *mappemonde* sunk in the pavement, where the frigid zones are figured in color:

> Quaeque colore suo pinxerat et studio;
> Lactea zona, suo distincta colore decenter,
> Et rubicunda simul et glatialis erat.[4]

And afterwards, when Baudri sees Astronomy figured on Adela's bed, he notices that the temperate zones are habitable, and that the torrid is red:

> Et coelum zonas monstrabat quinque tenere,
> Brumalesque situs et duo solstitia;
> Zonarumque duas habiles mortalibus aegris,
> At geminae frigent, quinta calore rubet.[5]

A comparison of Baudri's lines with the passage on the zones in Virgil's *Georgics* shows their derivation:

> Quinque tenent coelum zonae: quarum una corusco
> Semper sole rubens, et torrida semper ab igni;
> Quam circum extremae dextra laevaque trahuntur,
> Coerulea glacie concretae atque imbribus atris,
> Has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris
> Munere concessae Divum . . .[6]

And this comparison also indicates Virgil as the ultimate source of the description of the zones in *Thèbes*.

What the immediate source for this description and for the whole *mappemonde* of *Thèbes* was, cannot be determined with our present knowledge. It quite surely was not Ovid's description of the Palace of the Sun and Phaeton's flight. Nor was it Baudri's model, whatever that may have been, although in another instance *Thèbes* bears a certain likeness to Baudri's topography, in the lines where Baudri brings the Red Sea and Aetna fairly close together:

> Disposuit rubras in quadam margine terras,
> Ut mare quod superest inde rubere queat.
> Disposuit Sirtes, Scillea pericula fecit;
> Disposuit flammas evomat Ethna suas.[7]

In *Thèbes* the distance between them is even less:

> 4011 Mer roge i est, faite a neiel,
> Et li pas as fiz Israel;
> De Paradis li quatre flun,
> Ethna qui art et giete fun.[8]

[3] *Supra*, note 1.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 204, ll. 588–590.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 216, ll. 1061–64.
[6] *Georgics*, I, ll. 233–238.
[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 208, ll. 755–758. Isidore of Seville explains the color of the Red Sea in the same way (*Etymologiae*, XIII, 17, ¶ 2).
[8] Ovid does not speak of the Red Sea, while with him Aetna's flames gather strength from the runaway chariot:

> Ardet in immensum geminatis ignibus Aetne.
> *Met.*, II, l. 220.

Yet although we may not discern the exact model for *Thèbes*, we can be quite certain that it was akin to Baudri's. *Mappemondes* were in fashion at this time. Art aided literature in multiplying them. The pavement of Adela's room, in Baudri's mind, was a mosaic, and mosaics were by no means infrequent in his day. Enlart cites one of a *mappemonde*, laid in the church of St. Remy of Rheims about 1090 (Baudri was writing between 1087 and 1101, probably), where the rivers of Paradise, the elements, seasons, earth's surface, Seven Arts, months and so on were depicted.[9] A mosaic is at the bottom of the *mappemonde* in *Thèbes*, as the line 4011, quoted above, "Mer roge i est, faite a neiel," shows. But *Thèbes* is not describing a mosaic directly. Its verbal correspondences to Ovid and Virgil would preclude that assumption. The alternative of a written document then is the probable one, a document in which a mosaic was described.[10]

The chapter on the sources of *Énéas*, whether found in Ovid, in medieval Latin or in *Thèbes*, is considerably longer (pp. 73–157).[11] The Judgment of Paris would be traced to Donatus' commentary on the *Aeneid*. The description of Camilla's tomb uses loans from a Latin version of the Seven Wonders of the World, and from a legend on Pallas' tomb, localized in Rome and known to William of Malmesbury. These two sources may have reached *Énéas* commingled, in manuscript or orally. Among the minor allusions of the poem, the three fairy sisters who made Camilla's dress, and the three goddesses who cut Pallas' shroud, would be the Fates; the magnets on the walls of Carthage would have their prototypes in the magnetic stones of the islands of the medieval *Commonitorium Palladii*, which held ships fast by their iron nails; Messapus' seahorses come from Statius, but the details of their birth and speedy death from Pliny, through Solinus. For various incidents and ideas *Énéas* would have also drawn on *Thèbes*.

The descriptions of female beauty begun by *Thèbes* and continued by *Énéas* and its successors, would have been prompted by the rhetorical exercises of the schools of the day—a suggestion that Professor M. B. Ogle has

[9] C. Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, I, pp. 707, 708.
[10] Later Faral seems inclining towards this view (p. 349, n. 2), though he limits its application to the months and seasons.
[11] Throughout the volume Faral prefers the spelling of *Eneas* to *Énéas*, Eneas to Énée and Lavine to Lavinie.

independently worked out in the columns of this journal.[12]

The main discussion of the chapter centers, however, around the influence of Ovid on *Énéas,* an influence which is exemplified by the story of Mars and Venus, the description of Cerberus, and the stigma of Trojan faithlessness. Ovid would have given *Énéas* its conception of love also, its notions of sorcery, in short nearly all its additions to Virgil's themes. But as to the episode of Lavinia and Aeneas, the choice lies uncertain between Virgil, *Thèbes* and love tales current in the schools. Still many of its details would come from Ovid, such as Lavinia's hesitation at pronouncing Aeneas' name, and her sudden infatuation when she first sees Aeneas from the walls—recalling Scylla and Minos of the Latin poet. The nurse of Ovid has been replaced as *confidante* by the mother.

So with the descriptions of the physical effects of love which are so prominent in *Énéas,* though Ovid is here supplemented by medieval treatises on medicine, which considered love as an illness. But Faral's explanation fails to account for two of the most striking symptoms of that malady in *Énéas,* sweating and yawning. Ovid does not know them. Again Ogle's researches prove most illuminating. He finds that Achilles sweats in Statius' *Achilleis,* while yawning as well as sweating marks love in Heliodorus.[13]

Other features of Lavinia's love sickness are indeed anticipated by Ovid, as well as her vision of her loved one, Aeneas' fear of giving his mistress the upper hand if he shows his love, the higher estimate set on the passion of man over woman, and the desire to hasten the flight of time before the interviews of the lovers. The *Metamorphoses* also give to Cupid's arrows gold or lead tips, as their effect may be, and ascribe various other attributes, which *Énéas* repeats, to the god of love.

From Ovid would proceed, too, *Énéas'* notion of the love monolog and the debates which the lover carries on with himself, artifices destined to a long career in romantic poetry. And if Virgil bequeathed to *Énéas* its plot and leading episodes, it was Ovid, the idol of the schools from which that poem sprang, who shaped its style and moulded its form, and made of it the literary model of the age. It was therefore to Ovid that subsequent court writers looked for guidance.

Interrupting for the moment his analysis of Latin influence on twelfth-century romance, Faral takes up two questions of chronology. The one considers the relative dates of *Énéas* and the Letter of Prester John, and decides the problem in favor of the priority of the Letter.[14] The other reviews the arguments on the relation of *Troie* to *Énéas,* and shows conclusively that *Énéas* is the earlier.[15]

The longest monograph in the volume is on the *Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier* (pp. 191–303). Of the seven poems grouped under this heading, the Latin *Phillis et Flora* is the simplest, and therefore the oldest. Its form would come from the Latin eclog. Its heroes, the clerks, are not celibates, whether monks or priests, but educated men of the minor orders who became court secretaries and readers, the littérateurs of the age, imbued with a deep admiration for the classical authors and animated with a desire to introduce them to the social circles they frequented. Towards the middle of the twelfth century they seemed to have become much more numerous, and were practising at that time an especial cult for Ovid. The page is a brilliant one, and must be read to be appreciated.

The content of *Phillis et Flora* is various and derives from widely different sources. Its descriptions of horses recall those of *Roland* and the *Carmen de prodicione Guenonis,* and were perhaps suggested by Isidore of Seville. The tradition of the Earthly Paradise would give the poem its idea of the Paradise of Love, and the cortege of Venus in an epithalamium of

[12] *Classical Literary Tradition in early German and Romance Literature, Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVII (December, 1912), pp. 239–242; cf. *Amer. Jour. Phil.,* XXXIV (1913), pp. 125 sq.

[13] *Mod. Lang. Notes, loc. cit.,* pp. 238, 239. It should be noted that perhaps before Dido in *Énéas,* Thisbe in *Piramus* sweats because of love. *Piramus* could derive from an annotated copy of Ovid directly, so it is possible that these peculiar traits first appeared in glosses of Latin texts, whence they would be transferred to the French romances.

[14] The origin of the seventy-two provinces of the Letter, and of the "setante et dui language" of *Thèbes* (l. 4009), is found by Faral in *Exodus,* XXIV, 1, where that number is made up of the seventy elders of Israel, plus Moses and Aaron (why not Nadab and Abihu also?). But seventy-two is the number of the earth's divisions and tongues, spread abroad by Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae,* IX, 2, ¶ 2) on the basis of Saint Augustine's labored analysis of *Genesis,* X (*De Civitate Dei,* XVI, 3, 6, 10, 11). Isidore quotes Saint Augustine's words, from XVI, 6, ¶ 2.

[15] Argument no. 22, on the embalming of Pallas in *Énéas* and Hector in *Troie,* is particularly convincing. In no. 29, Faral speaks of the broken couplet as an uncertain guide. But should it not be noticed that, in this instance, *Énéas* maintains its percentage from the beginning to the end, while the percentage of *Troie* shows a considerable increase as the poem proceeds (*Modern Philology,* IV, pp. 669, 670)?

Sidonius Apollinaris would have been its model for Cupid's train.

The *Concile de Remiremont,* more complex than *Phillis,* would follow it.[16] For the same reason the French *Jugement d'Amour,* a title now preferred by Faral to *Florence et Blancheflor,* would also be later. Indeed, *Phillis* may have inspired the *Jugement,* though their sentiment is different. *Phillis* was marked by erudition. In its stead the *Jugement* offers scenes and details drawn from contemporary romance. Its garments of flowers, kisses and birds' songs, its weird notion of feathered advisers at Love's court, its spices, flowers and arrows of Love's palace, would have been borrowed from the domain of lyric poetry.[17]

A brief notice of another French version of the *Jugement,* with corrections of Oulmont's text, and a short chapter on *Hueline et Aiglantine,* a poem which would have incorporated loans from *Phillis* into its amplification of the *Jugement,* precede a more detailed study of *Blancheflour e Florence* and *Melior et Ydoine,* both Anglo-Norman poems, probably influenced by pastourelles, having priests in mind apparently, rather than clerks of the minor orders, and equally void of literary taste and finish. On the other hand, the Franco-Italian *Jugement* reveals an extended knowledge of romantic literature, but permits an immixture of realism which quite blots out the phantasy of its original.[18] The Latin song of the *Carmina Burana* adds nothing save its testimony to the popularity of the theme. A general summary of the results attained by these analyses is followed by two appendices, where a corrected edition of the French *Jugement* is given, and an edition of its Franco-Italian version.

With these studies and comparisons as a basis, Faral now proceeds to consider the romances as a whole. In his chapter, *Le Merveilleux et ses sources dans les descriptions des romans français du XII^e siècle* (pp. 307–388), he traces the origin of their legendary personages to mythology, folk-lore, Eastern legend and popular tradition. Their architectural marvels he would find outlined in the stories about Alexander, in the Seven Wonders of the World, and in the public monuments of Constantinople. From the same sources and from the Seven Sages they would take their automata, while their ideas of mural decoration, their magic rugs and armor, their cloths, their subjects of embroidery or sculpture, their precious stones, their animals and monsters, plants and gardens, their strange geography, in short all that was unknown to their actual environment, were borrowed from the same funds, supplemented by the Old Testament and the Apocalypse, by works on nature and treatises on animals, by Celtic tales even.

To this enumeration of sources, exhaustive as it is, one more might possibly be added. Faral would hold that Ovid and *Énéas* endowed Chrétien's Thessala with her powers of sorcery in *Cligès.* But the Greek novelist, Achilles Tatius, may also have had his share. Ogle has shown how closely Chrétien's conceit of the arrow which passes to the heart through the eye (*Cligès,* ll. 695 sq.) tallies with a similar passage in Achilles Tatius.[19] He might have added that Fenice's device to keep her body pure for Cligès, by giving her husband one of Thessala's enchanted potions (*Cligès,* ll. 3251 sq.), repeats, with change of sex, the effort made by Melitta to fire with passion her bridegroom Clitophon. For Clitophon, like Fenice, wishes to remain true to his sweetheart's memory, and as Fenice asks the aid of Thessala's magic art to deceive her husband, so Melitta, hearing that she has a Thessalian among her women, begs of her a drink brewed from herbs to use on her unwilling spouse.[20]

In this connection one might mention other incidents of *Cligès* which recall situations in Greek novels. Soredamor of *Cligès* is the first heroine of French romance to scorn the idea of love, and Cupid takes sudden revenge on her by transfixing her heart with his arrow (*Cligès,* ll. 441 sq.). In Xenophon's *Ephesiaca,* both hero and heroine scorned Eros, until he avenged himself by bringing them together.[21] Theagenes also was a rebel to love until he saw Chariclea.[22] Again Fenice drinks a sleeping draught, in order to pass for dead and escape from her tomb to Cligès (*Cligès,* ll. 5400 sq.). So Anthia of the *Ephesiaca* had swallowed what she thought was poison, in order to prevent a union hateful to her. But the potion proved to be a sleeping draught, and waking in her tomb she escaped to a final reunion with

[16] A new examination of its manuscript also dates it from around 1150. But do not its tone and its literary formulae make it a generation later even? See *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXII (1907), pp. 137–140.

[17] Professor Le Compte cites poems in Provençal as well as French in an analysis of like conceits in his *Fablel dou dieu d'amors. Modern Philology,* VIII (1910), pp. 67, 68.

[18] See Le Compte's explanation of the riddle-giving phenix (*loc. cit.,* pp. 68, 69).

[19] *Amer. Jour. Phil.,* XXXIV (1913), pp. 137, 138.

[20] Achilles Tatius, V, 20–24, 26; Bohn, *Greek Romances,* pp. 444–454, 459.

[21] F. M. Warren, *A History of the Novel previous to the Seventeenth Century,* p. 52.

[22] Bohn, *Greek Romances,* p. 77.

her beloved.[23] Does the plea of classical literary tradition in the schools avail in these instances, or were they grouped together in that book which Chrétien got from St. Peter's library at Beauvais? Whatever their derivation, we are far afield from the simple explanation of the influence of Ovid or *Énéas*.

Faral's concluding chapter, *Les Commencements du roman courtois français,* offers a brilliant defense of the position taken in his introductory pages, that the so-called romances of antiquity are earlier than the Breton romances, and consequently that it is they, and not their Breton compeers, which introduced into literature the idea of *courtoisie*. To those who would affirm the contrary, and base their opinion on the early appearance of the names of Arthur and Gawain among the families of Italy, Faral would reply that, even admitting these names were of Celtic origin, which is not so certain, their use in Italy would not prove the existence of poems which celebrated their exploits, but only a loan of names made from foreign stock. Now the first romance of antiquity would be either *Thèbes* or *Piramus*. They had no forerunners, being created directly out of Statius or Ovid. Written towards 1150 they precede by more than a decade the first Breton romances, the poems of Chrétien de Troyes. And so it is to them that we owe the first conception of the modern novel.

But where would Faral place some of the ideas of love and adventure mirrored in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia?* its treatment of the courtship of Igerna by Uther?—"Arridebat ei multotiens, jocosa verba interserebat" . . . "deceperat etiam fictitiis sermonibus, quos ornate componebat."[24] To some even the picture of love and jousting at Arthur's court is quite as finished as similar scenes in *Thèbes,* later by a decade at the least: "Facetae etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo castae mulieres, et milites amore illarum meliores."[25]

It may of course be objected that the *Historia* is a prose narrative, and not a romantic poem, and that Geoffrey may indeed have invented *courtoisie,* or introduced it into the courts of the North. But did Thomas invent *Tristan?* Was he not revising the work of some predecessor, and that work a poem? And between the general outline of the Tristan plot and the Arthurian there is this curious resemblance. The hero of the principal episode, Tristan or Arthur, is the son of the hero and heroine of the introductory episode. Would not this parallelism suggest that back of Geoffrey stood a great tale of love and adventure on which he drew, a tale to which the stories of Latin antiquity bear no likeness?[26]

Furthermore, the romances of antiquity, in Faral's opinion, would not only be the pioneers in the field of court poetry, they would also be the independent creations of their authors, erudite but worldly-minded clerks who desired to introduce classical lore to the unlettered nobles of Louis VII and Henry II. From Statius directly, with touches of the national epic and stories of the Crusades, *Thèbes* would have sprung. Its portraits done after the rhetorical models of the schools, its descriptions of animals and marvels, to rival the tales about Alexander, its episodes of romantic love inspired by contemporaneous lyric poetry were embellishments which its author was the first to use in vitalizing the sober substance of his narrative. Hard on his footsteps, the author of *Piramus et Tisbé* summoned the vernacular poets to the pillaging of Ovid.

Toward 1160 came *Énéas,* confirming the vogue of the kind, following the *Aeneid* more closely than *Thèbes* had followed the *Thebais,* creating a new conception of poetic art. Its improvements on the rhetorical devices set in motion by *Thèbes* and *Piramus,* its exaggerations of portraiture and description, its idea of love and love-making particularly, gave it undisputed pre-eminence. By its vogue the foundations of the modern novel were firmly fixed.

Benoît had a harder task. Dares and Dictys were poor substitutes for Statius and Virgil, yet Benoît triumphed through a close study of the methods of his predecessors. Indeed his success may have been even greater than theirs. More freely than they, he levied on the storehouses of didactic literature, and his *Troie* made larger offerings to the popular appetite for Eastern legend.

To these four great exemplars, born all four in the same Norman country, all subsequent romances, of whatever nature, Breton or Greco-Byzantine, are indebted. Even Chrétien de Troyes built on them, though modifying their tendencies in the direction of the natural and

[23] Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[24] *Historia regum Britanniae,* VIII, 19.

[25] *Historia,* IX, 13. Also the passage where the ladies urge on their suitors from the walls (IX, 14) might be cited.

[26] *Cligès,* as we know, imitates this double plot. Would not the episode of Jason and Medea in *Troie* be a clumsy attempt at the same idea? Thomas' introductory episode, however, quite surely underwent the influence of *Énéas* (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVII, pp. 107–110).

probable. And his successors continued his work, substituting for conventional themes the products of observation, making stories of love and adventure real with scenes drawn from actual existence. But through all changes of thought and content the same form persisted, and the principles of literary style, which *Thèbes, Piramus, Énéas* and *Troie* first formulated, remained constant with the romantic poets of France.

Faral's command of detail is unusual—we have done scant justice to his erudition—his enthusiasm is contagious. His argument in behalf of the independent origin of the romances of antiquity is the reasonable one. No models for them are in existence. Why then should we suppose such models?

The answer would be, without much doubt, that it is difficult to believe in the existence of a clerk who could have constructed and versified, at one and the same time, such a poem as *Thèbes*. Had that clerk lived his talent would have entitled him to recognition. His name, at least, would have been preserved. On the contrary, we might readily admit that a poet well up in medieval lyric, one who knew Cercamon, for instance, could have fashioned *Piramus et Tisbé* out of a glossed text of Ovid. But the comparatively simple solution of this case would not apply to works of the complexity of *Thèbes* and *Énéas*, a complexity which Faral's own investigations have increased rather than lessened. As for Benoît, few would concede to him the capacity for independent creation. What inventive powers could be claimed by an author who makes the stupid blunders which Faral himself stresses in the incident of the embalming of Hector, or who in his blind adherence to contradictory records makes two of his leading characters die two different deaths each? Besides, in the case of *Troie*, the subject seems to have passed the boundaries of the schools, as Orderic Vital, writing in an abbey of this same Norman land, a quarter of a century before Benoît, testifies.[27]

Nor are *Thèbes* and *Énéas*, confessedly the products of a much higher order of mind than Benoît's, above legitimate criticism from the standpoint of construction. If at times they repeat the exact order and the very phrases of Statius and Virgil, at other times, less frequent indeed, they depart from them most irrationally. Why such senseless variations in minor details if they were following the actual text of these masterpieces? The question cannot as yet be answered in a way to satisfy every one. But when it is answered, its solution will be mainly due to the scholar whose learning and untiring industry have already reached such substantial results in this most interesting and suggestive volume.

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[27] A Syrian Sultana is exhorting beleaguered French knights to resistance: "Decennem Troiae obsidionem recolite, et miros heroum eventus, quos histriones vestri quotidie concrepant, recensete." *Historia Ecclesiastica*, XI, 26. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII (November, 1913), pp. 203–205.

LYRIC POETRY

English Lyrical Poetry from its Origins to the present time, by Edward Bliss Reed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912.

The English Lyric, by Felix E. Schelling. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.

Lyric Poetry, by Ernest Rhys. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1913.

Of all categories of literature lyric poetry is the most difficult to define sharply. It is generally a thing apart from other types, but it often merges into other types, and any intense moment may force to the surface the lyrical element in drama or epic. The borderland between the *genres* is hard to trace. It is perhaps for this reason that, with excellent monographs on portions of the subject, there has been till lately no satisfactory survey of the entire field. The adjective, to be sure, begs the question at issue in this notice. In May, 1912, Professor Reed's book appeared, followed in little more than a year by the two other works enumerated above.

The authors of these three studies of the English lyric differ widely in their sense of proportion. To the pre-Elizabethan period Schelling gives about 14% of his space, Reed about 25%, Rhys about 35%—more than a third. To the nineteenth century and after Rhys gives about 22%, Reed about 29%, Schelling just 50%. There can be no question but that Rhys sacrifices the modern period in order to deal more fully with medieval developments, and that Schelling devotes a dispro-

portionate amount to the nineteenth century, especially to the treatment of the lyric of our own day. Whether the work of living authors, especially of men so young and as yet so formless as Mr. Noyes, comes properly within the scope of literary history is certainly open to question. All three writers have answered it in the affirmative. It is a pity that none of the three has included within his range the development of the lyric in this country; critics are coming more and more to disregard the political boundary lines that must else divide the two parts of what is really one literature.

With more space at his command, Reed is able to get something of the comparative outlook that is so essential to the proper understanding of literary types. His sketch of the Provençal, French, and Latin lyric, while necessarily brief, is delightfully appreciative, and his study of Petrarch is a needed link (and one almost wholly missing in the other two books) between the Tudor poetry and the Petrarchian school of Italy and France. To the influence of sixteenth-century France he might have with profit devoted more space. Within his small book Schelling could hardly attempt anything like a comparative point of view, though he indicates where such digressions should occur. Judicious omissions in his last chapter would have given him some of the necessary room. Rhys has but casual and disconnected allusions to the poetry of France and Italy and attempts no real comparative study. On the other hand, he enters a field that Reed and Schelling wisely keep out of—the folk-element in early song. Here his remarks are haphazard and unsatisfactory. With regard to the inclusion or omission of individual poets the taste and judgment of the authors are again divergent. Rhys omits many names, "not because they did not write anything of value," he says (p. 371), "but because they did not considerably affect the growth of the verse." But such a standard consistently adopted would have worked to the exclusion of various writers who are discussed —Aphra Behn, for example, or Henry More, or Andrew Lang. On the other hand, one may rightly complain of the omission, among others, of John Webster, T. L. Beddoes, Emily Brontë, James Thompson II, Austin Dobson, and Francis Thompson. In Schelling's book I note but two omissions of consequence. George Darley's name occurs thrice, but there is no specific reference to his delicate lyric talent, especially as seen in *Sylvia*. More remarkable is the lack of any allusion to the poetry of Wilfrid S. Blunt. These omissions are notable only in a work so comprehensive as this, for Schelling's faults are those of commission. Not only are there paragraphs that are little more than catalogues of names, betraying anxiety lest the least poetical minnow escape the critical net, but in several instances a number of writers are tediously grouped together only to be dismissed with the remark that they have no place in the history of the lyric (*e. g.*, p. 32 and p. 147). Why mention them then? Here, as in many things, Reed affords the golden mean. His range does not include as many living writers as does Schelling's; but such omissions are the result, not of neglect, but of suspended judgment and of proper sense of proportion. I am informed that he has in preparation a separate work upon the lyric of to-day.

In modern book-making a good bibliography and a good index have become essentials. In both these respects Schelling is admirable. Reed's triple-entry index is needlessly complex and his bibliography is too sparse to be of much service. Rhys has no bibliography, and indeed but two or three exact references in his whole book. His index is inexact and incomplete. Francis Thompson, for example, is mentioned, but wisely without a page reference, for his name does not occur in the text. Lovelace, on the contrary, whose work is discussed, has no place in the index.

In point of style, Reed is by far the most pleasant and is not devoid of quiet humor. Schelling is, as always, business-like. Rhys is often astonishingly bad. He is fond of ponderous dicta which, on analysis, are found to be of little real substance. Thus, of the *Morte d'Arthur* he writes (p. 73), "There prose was allowed, it seems, to grow lyrical without growing ashamed of itself." I do not know what this means. Certainly the author's prose should

be ashamed of itself, for, generally clumsy and verbose, it is at times positively ungrammatical. For example: "We part from him and Robert of Brunne, however, with a distinct feeling of something added to his resources of the tongue and the congenial powers of verse" (p. 47). Or: "Enough has been drawn from this early dramatic literature to show that, like in later plays, it abounded in true lyric" (p. 67). Or read the amazing sentence, too long to quote, on p. 119, beginning "To know all."

The two American writers are much more accurate than the Englishman. In this respect Reed is especially notable. The few errors that I have found will be corrected, I am assured, in the revised edition of the book, now in press. Schelling's work is done with painstaking accuracy, but a few points may be noted. Watts-Dunton's phrase "The Renascence of Wonder" is found, not in the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* as is said on p. 150, but in the introductory essay to the third volume of *Chamber's Cyclopedia of English Literature.* On p. 172, line 3, for "Farewell" read "Fare thee well." The revival of the literary drama which Schelling (p. 190) dates from the publication of Shelley's *Cenci* in 1819, should certainly be dated (as Shelley would have acknowledged) from the presentation of Coleridge's *Remorse* at Drury Lane in 1816. *Poems by Two Brothers* was published in 1827, not 1826 (p. 194). The date of the accession of Alfred Austin to the laureateship is given (p. 248) as 1902, of course a misprint for 1892; but that, too, is incorrect as the appointment was not made till 1896. On p. 273 the *Wessex Poems* of Thomas Hardy are called *Essex Poems*—a bad misprint. How in 1894 Browning could have added his "cordial appreciation" to Patmore's praise of Thompson I cannot see (p. 274). Schelling does scant justice to Tennyson's volume of 1832, classing it with *Poems chiefly Lyrical* as not "wholly undeserving of the disapproval" of reviewers. Yet surely this volume is, as Gosse says, a "most astonishing revelation of finished genius," astonishing, too, for the immense progress made since the *Juvenilia* of 1830. In his account of the Oxford Movement (p. 217 f.) Schelling is not only unsympathetic but at times inaccurate. To indicate his lack of comprehension of the spiritual value of the movement would take too much space; I may remark, however, that to say that "the Oxford Movement was dead, in 1845, with Newman's admission into the communion of Rome" (p. 218) is to invite contradiction from anyone familiar with a powerful section of Anglican thought to-day. See the article on "The Future of the Oxford Movement" by E. G. Selwyn, in *The Nineteenth Century and After,* March, 1912, vol. 71, p. 522 f. Nor is Schelling's treatment of the Pre-Raphaelites satisfactory. His statement of their principles is vague and ambiguous. It may be remarked, too, that he speaks of the "spontaneity" with which Rossetti's poems were written (p. 231). This directly contradicts the poet's own account of the travail with which he composed. See A. C. Benson's *Rossetti,* p. 74.

Rhys has done much less accurate work than Schelling; and his book is further disfigured by at least fifty misprints, the more important of which shall be noted. On p. 16 it is said that "there is no true rhyme" in Anglo-Saxon verse, a misstatement which the author himself corrects on p. 19. He accepts without question Professor Manly's theory of the dual or multiple authorship of *Piers the Plowman.* As this is by no means established, it would have been well to give some indication of the controversy. On p. 119 he speaks of Anne Boleyn as "a *princess* destined to be a queen." He gives no indication that the sincerity of Sidney's love for Penelope Devereux has ever been so much as questioned (p. 149). Reed and Schelling agree with him in accepting the autobiographical interpretation of *Astrophel and Stella.* Schelling (p. 59) refers to Sir Sidney Lee's opposing view. But Lee's opinion loses weight because its advocate is committed to a conventional, non-literal interpretation of the Elizabethan sonnet-sequences in general. Of more force and of interest as prior to Lee is the discussion by Courthope (II, 226), who rejects, on what seem to me solid grounds, the autobiographical view. To this no reference is made in any of these books.

To continue the summary of Rhys's errors.

On p. 220 he says that Vaughan chose "a very bad model in *Marino*," as though Marino were a poem. This may be a printer's error. It is hard to put upon any poor devil of a printer the really atrocious misprint, occurring twice on p. 228, of "Sampson" for "Samson." On p. 256 it should have been noted that Thomson's claim to the authorship of "Rule, Britannia" has been vindicated. To put Macpherson, whose *Fingal* was published in 1763, "at the end of the century" (p. 270) amounts to a gross anachronism, since "Ossian" is to be associated with Walpole and other heralds of Romanticism. I do not understand why it seems to Rhys (p. 299) "almost an impiety" to associate with Landor Southey, whom Landor himself described as

> no less firm or ready than the guide
> Of Alighieri, trustier far than he.

The date of Tennyson's second independent volume is 1832, not 1833 (p. 326), despite the title-page. The difference of a year is here important. I see no reason for Rhys's approval (p. 328) of Coleridge's statement that Tennyson began "to write verses without very well understanding what metre is" (*Table-Talk*, April 24, 1833). Tennyson tried to account for this strange criticism (see the *Memoir* I, 50, note). The truth is that Coleridge was simply wrong. I have been through both rare little volumes without finding a line that will not scan. In discussing Browning's metrical defects Rhys advances the ingenious theory (p. 336) that, on account of Browning's "extremely neat manuscript, he was misled by the symmetry of the lines as written into believing they had organic symmetry." Then, after a discussion of the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, comes this sentence, "It is curious to remember, in view of Browning's profound admiration for these sonnets, . . . his undisguised contempt for the form in general as a vehicle of poetic ideas—

> 'Did Shakespeare write sonnets?
> The worse Shakespeare he.'"

Such a garbled misquotation and misinterpretation is really disgraceful.

Of the printer's many errors the following are the more serious. The lines at the bottom of p. 22 are badly punctuated. On p. 23, line 10, Caedmon has no accent; two lines below it has. On p. 109, line 9 from bottom, is the bad error of "Dowe" for "Dowel," and there is a superfluous capital in "Dobest." By putting "Chronicle" in italics on p. 112, line 4, the printer has made nonsense. On p. 127, last line but one of verse, for "but" read "by." On p. 128, line 22, for "sometimes" read "sometime." The loss of the word "the" in the last line of the quotation on p. 139 spoils the metre. The apostrophe in line 7 of p. 160 destroys the sense. On p. 189, line 12, for "of" read "on." On p. 211, line 15, for "findeth" read "find it." Within four lines quoted from *Paradise Lost* on p. 226 there are two misprints, viz., "which" for "while" and "when" for "where." On p. 230, line 3 of first quotation, for "far-fetched" read probably "deep-fetched." There are two errors in line 17 of p. 251. On p. 254, before line 5 of the song, add "And he that will this health deny"—a line that has been entirely omitted. As it stands the stanza is meaningless. On p. 291, line 3 from bottom, we have "Grasmere," two lines below "Grassmere." On p. 299, line 7, read, I suppose, "poetry" for "poet." On p. 303, end of second quotation, by misplacing the last words the metre has been ruined. On p. 320, line 3 from bottom, for "which in" read "in which." These are the chief misprints (I have noted down not half); individually of small moment; collectively an exhibition of slovenly work. More serious, because more fundamental, is the illogical arrangement of much of the material, as when *Piers the Plowman* is discussed after the Scottish Chaucerians. Passages are quoted sometimes in the old spelling, sometimes modernized. Titles are given in italics or quotation-marks or neither. This leads to some absurd confusion, as on p. 150 where the title *Astrophel* is not in italics and the woman's name, Stella, is; or on p. 326 where part of a title is italicized and part is not.

From such fault-finding, important though it be if a review is to be more than impression-

istic inanity, it is pleasant to turn to some notes on a few of the many topics suggested by the reading of these books.

There is no space here for a discussion of the nature of lyric poetry. It may be said that in none of these books is a satisfactory conclusion arrived at. All three writers agree that the lyric originates in song, and they make some effort to trace this song-element down the ages and to find in its presence a criterion of lyric utterance. This accounts for Reed's statement that "the genius of Wordsworth was not lyrical." It is well to recall Coleridge's remark that he would rather have written "Nature's Lady" than twenty "Christabels" and "Kubla Khans." The insistence upon the singing quality accounts also for Rhys's low estimate of the sonnet as a lyric form. Here he is in direct opposition to Reed who thinks the sonnet is "the most important, as it is the most perfect, of all modern lyric forms" (p. 119), and to Schelling who takes "the flourishing of the sonnet as a criterion of the presence in our English literary history of the qualities that mark the soul of poetry" (p. 131). Rhys, on the contrary, thinks that "no sonnet can be as purely lyrical as a perfect song" (p. 163). There is much truth in this, for the sonnet has to struggle against exceptionally strait limitations of form, and the essential lyric spontaneity is more difficult of attainment. The question rests ultimately upon the relative worth in lyric poetry of the folk and literary elements. In this connection it may be remarked that both Reed (p. 169) and Rhys (p. 301) quote with something like astonishment remarks by Stevens and Landor respectively indicating their slight opinion of Shakespeare's sonnets. The passages quoted explain one another, and when I add that Rogers (*Table-Talk*, p. 149) said that "Blow, blow, thou winter wind" was "alone worth them all," and that Byron, who was saturated with the plays, never mentions the sonnets, it will be seen that this vagary of taste was quite general.

No one would attempt to praise Pope as a lyric poet in the higher sense of the term; yet I wish that one at least of these critics had mentioned the lines "Where'er you walk, cool gales shall fan the glade," which, removed from their insipid context and exquisitely set to music by Handel, are full of a delicate artificial charm. And I think that something at least of the *literary* lyric can be found in the *Eloisa* and in the *Unfortunate Lady*. We are still too much a part of the Romantic Movement to appreciate fully the merits of such verse. The same prejudice appears in most judgments of Byron. Rhys and Schelling are certainly too low in their estimate of Byron's lyric gift. Reed is more fair. It is worth recalling that the late poet-laureate put "The Isles of Greece" with Spenser's *Epithalamium* as the supreme English lyrics (*The Bridling of Pegasus*, pp. 14 and 18).

Both Reed and Schelling praise Beddoes. There ought to be a revival of knowledge of this most interesting poet. He is much more than a "man of a single work" (Schelling, p. 191), for the fragments of *Torismond* and *The Second Brother* are full of beauty and his best lyric is not in *Death's Jest-book*. Reed perhaps exaggerates the gloom of Beddoes's temperament. The gloom of his poetry was an intentional literary effect. His delightful letters are almost always cheerful and enthusiastic. When a man speaks of "leading terror by the nose" it is difficult to associate him with a thorough-going pessimist like "B. V." The exquisite technique of Beddoes's lyrics is the subject of an interesting paper in F. Olivero's recent *Saggi di Letteratura Inglese* (p. 223 f.).

One detail about Shelley is worth mentioning. Reed writes (p. 412), "A critic has remarked that poets usually illustrate the spiritual by the material . . . but Shelley makes nature ghostly." A very striking instance of this, not so far as I am aware recorded, is afforded by a comparison of the opening lines of the *Ode to the West Wind* with the *Inferno* III, 112 f. Dante describes the spirits of the damned embarking upon Charon's boat,

> Come d'autunno si levan le foglie
> L'una appresso dell'altra.

The ghosts fall like autumn leaves; in Shel-

ley's imagination it is the autumn leaves that are "driven like ghosts" from the unseen presence of the wind.

Finally I note that towards Swinburne both Rhys and Schelling are more just than Reed, who overemphasizes the poet's lack of human sympathy. To this too-oft repeated assertion *The Pilgrims,* which is the very gospel of "social service," should be a complete reply.

In sum, the value of Rhys's book, despite occasional passages of sympathetic, if impressionistic, criticism, is slight; Schelling has made a good hand-book, a compendious satchel-guide to song; Reed's is a work of both suggestiveness and charm. In certain moods the student may well use his book; he will discard all such works when, approaching poetry in another mood, he hears through the magic casement the horns of elf-land blow.

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Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte von HERMANN COLLITZ. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press), 1912. 8vo., xvi + 256 pp. (*Hesperia.* Schriften zur germanischen Philologie. Nr. 1.)

The current explanation of the so-called 'weak' preterit is based on theories advanced nearly a century ago by two well-known scholars, Franz Bopp and Jacob Grimm. In their opinion the dental of the weak preterit is a remnant of the preterit of the verb *to do.* A form *I said* is supposed not only to mean 'I did say,' but actually to contain in its *d* the preterit *I did,* so as to be the equivalent of *say* + *did* = Early Germanic **sag* + *dida.*

For half a century this view remained unchallenged. In 1868, however, Wilhelm Scherer attempted to substitute the theory of a close relationship of the weak preterit with the Greek passiv aorist in *-θην* and the Latin imperfect in *-bam.* These various tenses, in his opinion, are based on a composition of verbal roots with the simple (or 'second') aorist of the root *dhē-* (*i. e.,* the Germanic verb *do*). Scherer's explanation of the weak preterit was followed a few years later by another theory, much more revolutionary in character, in W. Begemann's monograph: *Das schwache Präteritum der Germanischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1873). According to Begemann the weak preterit is not a compound tense, embodying two verbal roots, but a simple tense, ending in a dental consonant. He observed, moreover, that the dental suffix of the weak preterit is identical in form with that of the Indo-European *to*-participle, and accordingly he ventured to explain the weak preterit as an offshoot of this participle.

Whilst to his contemporaries Begemann's theory seemed altogether improbable, subsequent investigators (*e. g.,* E. Windisch, H. Möller, and others) took a more favorable attitude toward his views, or at least toward some of his views. For, obviously, in trying to solve the problem of the weak preterit we have to distinguish between two different questions: (1) that of the nature of the dental of the weak preterit,—chiefly a question of historical phonetics (*Lautgeschichte*); (2) that of the origin of the weak preterit, or in other words, of its historical connection with the I.-Eur. tense-system. This is rather a morphological question, although phonetics enters into it in so far as the *Auslautgesetze* must be carefully considered.

As regards both these questions, the issue is not entirely between Grimm, Scherer, and Begemann, because certain new theories and modifications of the former theories were advanced at a more recent date. The problem in any case is rather complicated, and both for this reason and on account of the fact that the views of modern investigators differ as much as those of earlier scholars, there seemed to be an urgent need for a review of the whole question and for an attempt to reconcile the conflicting conceptions of this peculiar Germanic tense.

The subject has been divided into six chapters.

Chap. I serves as an introduction, reviewing

in chronological order the various theories as to the origin of the weak preterit and the nature of its dental.

Chap. II contains a list of about 50 verbs in which the dental suffix of the weak preterit is connected with the verbal root without the aid of an intermediate vowel. This list includes, in other words, (1) weak preterits found outside of the three 'weak' or derivative conjugations; *e. g.*, the preterits of the so-called 'preterit-present' verbs (like Goth. *wait*, pret. *wissa* or *kann*, pret. *kunþa*); and (2) irregular preterits of weak verbs (like Goth. *þagkjan*, prt. *þahta*, or Westgerm. *haban*, prt. *habda*). Such forms are more important for the theory of the weak preterit than the regular preterits of the three weak conjugations, because here (in the irregular preterits) the dental of the preterit is found in various characteristic and ancient forms.

In Chap. III (on the dental of the weak preterit) stress is laid on the fact that the dental of the weak preterit always agrees not only—as recognized by Begemann—with that of the I.-Eur. *-to*-participle but also with that of the I.-Eur. *-ti*-abstracts. Obviously then the dental of the weak preterit originated from I.-Eur. *t*. As to the difficulty apparently presented by preterits like *lagda* 'laid', *sagda* 'said', *habda* 'had', these forms were many years ago explained by Kluge, who compared the groups *-gd-* and *-bd-* with Skr. *-gdh-* resulting from *gh+t* (*e. g., dagdha-=dagh+ta-*) and *bdh* from *bh+t* (*e. g., labdha* 'seized' **labh+ta-*). Kluge's rule, however, must be supplemented by a second one, to the effect, that in 'Grassmann's roots'—*i. e.*, verbal stems beginning with and ending in an I.-Eur. aspirate (or in other words: in a Germanic media)—the aspiration is regularly lost before the suffixal *t*, *e. g.*, A. S. *boh-te* = Engl. *bought*, from I.-Eur. *bhugh-* or A. S. *gif-t* = Engl. *gift*, from I.-Eur. *ghebh-*.

There is only one weak preterit the dental of which cannot be derived from I.-Eur. *t*, viz., Westgermanic **deda* = O. S. *deda*, A. S. *dyde*, O. H. G. *teta*. This preterit, however, forms a class by itself in so far as the final syllable *-da* is not, strictly speaking, a grammatical termination, but contains the initial radical consonant (= I.-Eur. *dh*) with the ending *-a*, while the first *d* belongs to the reduplication-syllable. This form then is entirely to be separated from preterits like Goth. *munda*, *nasida*, etc.

In Chap. IV the terminations of the weak pret. are taken up. They are divided into two groups, viz.: (1) Middle endings (identical with the corresponding endings of the Gothic present passiv). This group consists of the 1 and 3 sing. ind.; (2) active endings (agreeing with the corresponding endings of the strong preterit). Here belong the 2 sing. ind., the plur. ind. and the optativ.

Many years ago, in an article published in the *Amer. Journal of Philology*, vol. IX, p. 42 ff., I first called attention to the identity of the endings of the 1 and 3 sing. ind. of the weak preterit with those of the corresponding passiv forms, and I identified—on the basis of this comparison—the 1 and 3 pers. sing. of the weak preterit with the corresponding forms of the I.-Eur. perfect middle. This suggestion was so much in contrast with the current views of the origin of the weak preterit that the majority of Germanic philologists hesitated to accept it, although several well-known scholars (*e. g.*, G. Körting, *Encyklopädie u. Methodologie der engl. Philologie*, Heilbronn, 1888, p. 20; K. F. Johansson, "Zur Flexion des schw. Prät. im Gotischen," *K.Z.* 30, p. 547 ff.; V. Henry, *Grammaire comparée de l'Anglais et de l'Allemand*, Paris, 1893, p. 327—*A short comparative grammar of English and German*, London, 1894, p. 317) gave expression to their approval. I trust that the more detailed exposition of this theory in the present monograph may convince others that this explanation is merely the natural conclusion drawn from indisputable facts, and meets with no serious objections.

The case is different with those endings of the weak preterit that agree with the corresponding endings of the strong preterit. To be sure, I suggested (in my paper referred to above) that these endings might have taken the place of former middle endings, and K. F. Johansson (in his article cited above) called

attention to certain peculiarities in the formation of the weak preterit that appear to indicate a connection of the Gothic dual forms of the weak preterit with the dual forms of the Sanskrit perfect middle. Johansson's arguments seemed convincing to me, and I have represented the matter in my monograph on the weak preterit in accordance with his views. This whole line of argument, however, rests on the presupposition that the weak preterit represents only a single I.-Eur. tense, and it must be admitted that this assumption is by no means certain. If, *e. g.*, the Latin perfect has resulted from a mixture of certain forms of the old perfect act. and perfect middle with others of the *s*-aorist act., and if the Celtic *t*-preterit is the result of a combination of the I.-Eur. 3 sing. pret. pass. with the 3 sing. of the simple aorist act.,[1] there is no reason why the Germanic weak preterit should not be considered as the outcome of both the I.-Eur. perfect middle and, *e. g.*, certain types of the I.-Eur. simple aorist. In my present opinion the latter theory is the more probable one. But I must be satisfied here with merely stating the fact that I have meanwhile changed my view as to this question. I expect soon to find time to discuss the problem again in a separate article.

Chap. V treats of the stem formation and the accent of the weak preterit. The stem agrees with that of the dual and plural forms of the strong preterit, as is seen most clearly in the tenses of the preterit-present verbs. In view of the fact that in Sanskrit the same relation exists between the stems of the dual and plural of the perfect act. and the stem of the perfect middle, this state of affairs supports the probability of a connection of the weak preterit with the I.-Eur. perfect middle.

So far as the original accent of the weak preterit can be traced by the application of Grimm's and Verner's laws, the accent was found sometimes (*e. g.*, in *kunþa*) on the stem syllable, but more frequently (*e. g.*, in *munda, wilda*) on the ending. This again agrees with what we know of the accent of the I.-Eur. perfect middle.

Chap. VI is an appendix, commenting on the Latin perfect and the Greek passiv aorist. The ending of the 1 pers. sing. ind. of the Latin perfect is now generally acknowledged to belong to the I.-Eur. perfect middle. Hence, if we are right in claiming for the weak preterit a connection with the 3 pers. sing. of the I.-Eur. perfect middle, we may expect to find a close similarity between the Latin and the Germanic tense. This expectation is borne out by actual evidence in instances like Goth. *iddja* for **iia* = Lat. *ii*, Westgerm. *de-d-a* formed like Lat. *de-d-i*, and others. It must be remembered, however, that the Latin perfect is a mixture, so far as the stem is concerned, of active and middle forms, and that the similarity with the weak preterit, therefore, is restricted to forms of the latter type.

The Greek passiv aorist in *-θην* undoubtedly resembles the weak preterit in its general appearance and therefore claims our interest even if we do not assume (with Scherer and others) an historical connection between the two tenses. Unfortunately the origin of the passiv aorist in *-θην* is as much a matter of dispute as that of the weak preterit. The theory more generally favored at present is that of Jacob Wackernagel (*K.Z.* 30, 302 ff.), who regards the aorist in *-θην* as an offshoot of the aorist middle. While agreeing with Wackernagel as to the main issue, I have suggested two modifications in his theory in assuming (1) that the aorist in *-θην* is connected, not with both the *s*-aorist and the simple aorist middle, but only with the athematic form of the *s*-aorist; (2) that the dental of the *θην*-aorist is not connected with the Sanskrit ending *-thās* of the 2 sing. ind. middle in secondary tenses, but has developed from the initial dental of various endings of the aorist middle (*e. g.*, the 2 and 3 pers. dual and the 2 pers. plur.). These differences in opinion involve a different attitude as to the question of relationship between the passiv aorist and the weak preterit. While Wackernagel (like Scherer, though in a different manner) would connect these two tenses, there is in my opinion no

[1] Cp. H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1913, II, 377 f.

genetic connection but simply a similar historical process, namely, that of the evolution of a tense characterized by dental endings.

Pp. 233–240 contain a list of additions and corrections. While this list might be considerably extended, I shall confine myself here to a few additional corrections.

Misprints or errors are, *e. g.*, p. 56, note 1, *formuonstun* instead of *farmuonstun;* p. 75, l. 15 from below and p. 253, *hyht* f. instead of *hyht* m.; p. 95, l. 1, *ō*-Flexion instead of *ē*-Flexion; p. 124, l. 13 from below, *nakká-* instead of *nakhá-;* p. 164, l. 11 from below, *Mittelniederländischen* instead of *Mittelniederdeutschen;* p. 198, l. 4 from below, **mazdā* instead of **mazdhā;* p. 215, l. 19, λεκ instead of λεχ. Lines 15–13 from below on p. 181 should read: "Zwar fehlt bei *ga-kunþ(i)-s* leider im Altindischen und Griechischen ein genau entsprechendes Substantiv, denn griech. γνῶσις lässt sich dem gotischen Worte nicht unmittelbar zur Seite stellen."—An erroneous statement made on p. x, note 2, with regard to M. D. Learned's dissertation *The Pennsylvania German Dialect* (Baltimore, 1888) has been corrected by Professor Learned in the *German American Annals,* 1912, p. 260 f.

While I am not aware of any serious omissions as to the main theme of this monograph, I find that here and there additional references would have been in place with regard to certain etymologies and other matters of detail; *e. g.*, on p. 40, nr. 20, under Goth. *ga-mōt* (= Engl. *I must*) and *ga-mōtjan* (= Engl. *to meet*) I might have referred to Schade, *Altdtsch. Wörterbuch* s. v. *muozan* and R. Meringer, *I.F.* 18, p. 211 ff. (cp. also F. A. Wood, *Mod. Philology,* XI, 319 ff.).—In quoting p. 237 ff. various articles concerned with 'haplology' I should have included, *e. g.*, Prof. Jespersen's important papers in the *Nord. tidskrift for filol. og pædag.,* Ny række vii (1886), 216 (= Techmer's *Zeitschrift* III, 195) and *ib.* IX (1890), 323. Cp. also the same author's remarks on this phenomenon in his book *Progress in language* (Lond., 1894), p. 343, and his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik,* übs. v. Davidsen (Leipzig, 1904), p. 173. My intention, however, was not to compile an exhaustive bibliography. No reference is therefore found to Prof. Brugmann's discussion in his treatise *Das Wesen der lautlichen Dissimilation* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 6 ff. (esp. p. 14 f.), and to many other valuable contributions toward the study of this interesting subject.

It remains to be said that this study of the weak preterit forms the first number of a collection of monographs written by American scholars in the field of Germanic Philology, the latter term taken in its broadest sense, *i. e.*, not confining 'philology' to linguistic subjects, but using the term rather in the meaning of the German *Philologie.* This publication is not restricted to investigations carried on at any single university, but counts on the liberal support of American philologists generally.

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RECENT FLAUBERT LITERATURE

La Jeunesse de Flaubert, par E. MAYNIAL. Paris, Mercure de France, 1913. 346 pp.

L'Esthétique de Gustave Flaubert, par E. L. FERRÈRE. Paris, Conard, 1913. XII + 322 pp.

La Jeunesse de Flaubert, a collection of essays of varying length and interest, is not, as the title might suggest, primarily biographical; it is rather a group of studies in which Mr. Maynial desires to point out how large a part Flaubert's youthful surroundings and emotions played in his productions: in *Madame Bovary,* in *St. Antoine,* even in *Bouvard et Pécuchet.* He would doubtless allege this purpose in justification of his title, but if it be remarked that by far the longest study is devoted to Flaubert's journey in the East, made when he was twenty-eight, and that the last two sections—on the *Dictionnaire des Idées Reçues* and Flaubert's friendship with Maupassant—have only the most meager connection with his youth, it becomes clear that the book is largely a collec-

tion of independent articles grouped under a somewhat arbitrary title. This impression is heightened by the presence of certain repetitions characteristic of such a collection (pp. 79, 95, 331, 335). A few alterations and the omission of the last two chapters would have increased the unity of the work without lessening its interest.

In the first chapter, "L'Autobiographie de Flaubert," the author shows how Flaubert revealed himself in *Mémoires d'un Fou,* in *Novembre,* in the first *Education Sentimentale,* and in his letters. He reconstructs from the testimony of a contemporary the life in the Collège de Rouen and points out how this reacted on Flaubert, even as late as *Madame Bovary;* he makes clear that the Rouennais, despite his professed hatred for his native town and province, profited largely in his books by the urban and rustic scenes among which he grew up.

The second article, "Flaubert à Quinze Ans: *Le Colibri,*" is a study of the short-lived periodical in which appeared Flaubert's first published productions. To those interested in the origins and development of Flaubert's literary talents, this chapter is the most valuable of the book. Mr. Maynial's study of *Le Colibri* resurrects to a certain extent the literary situation at Rouen in the thirties. It makes clear that already romantics and realists were dividing the attention of the youthful writers of the Norman capital. Flaubert's own published contributions are typical of this condition. One is a detailed analytic study of the clerk-type, a descendant of the classic *portrait;* the other is a fantastic tale, thoroughly romantic in its conception and execution. The former is particularly significant in view of its author's subsequent career, connecting him as it does directly with Balzac and other less famous composers of *physiologies.* Despite its title, then, this part of the book is not primarily biographic but a chapter of literary history, pure and simple, and as such has decided value and interest.

Mr. Maynial's discussion of the 1849 version of *Saint Antoine* in the next chapter brings out the connection and the differences between it and its two successors. Mr. Bertrand had already suggested the mystery play of the Rouen fair as the prime source of Flaubert's drama; Mr. Maynial also maintains this view, but concedes its proper rôle to Breughel's painting, usually held to be the source. He further makes judicious and helpful observations on the nature and style of the 1849 version in comparison with those of 1856 and 1872, and concludes (p. 170) that the 1856 version is most nearly representative of the author.

To Flaubert's journey in the East with Du Camp (1849–1851) is devoted the longest chapter of the book. The material is drawn from the two volumes of *Notes de Voyage* now accessible to the public, and from the traveler's letters home. True to his title, Mr. Maynial connects this with Flaubert's youth by recalling how the East had always drawn him, but of far more interest than this is the conception we get of the voyager's emotions, and of the spiritual effect that his longed-for Orient had upon him: how exuberantly he rejoiced in Egypt, and how his spirit seemed less joyful amid the beauties and literary associations of Greece. This interesting chapter is, however, somewhat marred by the large place given to discrediting Du Camp's account of the trip in *Souvenirs Littéraires.* This is not the first time that Du Camp has been convicted of infidelity toward his friend, and it may have been worth while to demonstrate this again at some length, in order to correct the false notion of Flaubert's bearing and nature given by his companion's apparently friendly narrative; but a briefer and less detailed refutation would have served the purpose, and have left us free to enjoy the highly interesting presentation of Flaubert's journey and its significance for his work. It may be added in passing that to procure this pleasure, unalloyed, the reader has but to sit down with Volumes I and II of the *Correspondance* and savor Flaubert's admirable letters to Bouilhet, and to his mother. Here, as well as in *Notes de Voyage,* comes out the accuracy of observation that Mr. Maynial remarks on, coupled with a vigor, an exuberance of life and expression, a richness of color and a keenness of humorous appreciation that Flaubert never surpassed.

These are the most entertaining parts of a volume which will be welcomed as supplementing Mr. Descharmes' more diffuse account of the same period [1] and will be of service because it deals in careful and sympathetic fashion with Flaubert's early essays in literature and their bearing upon what was to come.

In a recent Paris doctoral dissertation, Mr. Ferrère offers a most extensive discussion of Flaubert's style, of the nature and the background of his literary creed, and of the character and extent of his influence. He first considers Flaubert's temperament with the philosophic tendencies to which this led and their manifestations in his writings; then the purely literary dogmas to which he held throughout his career, and the character of his reading. These chapters represent a survey of the background; in those that follow are treated Flaubert's choice of subjects, his methods of composition by *tableaux*, his handling of words, figures, and sentences as vehicles of expression, and his success in evoking before the reader visions from an historical past. The inclusion of this last topic, it may be said parenthetically, is due to Mr. Ferrère's desire to defend *Salammbô* and *Hérodias* from the attacks made against them by critics, from Sainte-Beuve to Faguet. As to the merits of the controversy, one is strongly inclined to imitate comfortably the landlord of the Rainbow: if Mr. Faguet maintains that the author sinned in making the Veil his central personage and in choosing an unfamiliar historical setting, we believe him; on the contrary, if Mr. Ferrère asserts that Carthage has the center of the stage and that the very strangeness of the territory through which we travel helps produce the desired thrill of mystery, we believe *him*.

When we ask what totally fresh contributions Mr. Ferrère's book brings to Flaubert literature, the reply is not lengthy. The chapter on Flaubert's reading is new and interesting, and Mr. Ferrère had access to the manuscripts at *Villa Tanit*,[2] which enabled him to study in the making certain pages of *Madame Bovary*, of *Salammbô* and of *Hérodias*, and to conclude that throughout his great period Flaubert's methods were unchanged, his corrections tending constantly to banish prolixity and vagueness and to heighten effect by a striving for vigor, brilliancy, and sobriety of expression (p. 221). The chapter devoted to Flaubert's favorite authors and his judgments upon them was needed. Of course the sources for such a chapter are found in the *Correspondance*, but Mr. Ferrère will remark on going through the letters in the Conard edition [3] that some of his statements need revision. For example, Ronsard is mentioned with enthusiasm as early as 1842 (I, pp. 119, 134, 135; contrast Ferrère, p. 101). Furthermore the amusing contrast drawn in one letter between him and Boileau indicates, when his later views are considered, how radically Flaubert changed his opinion about the critic of classicism. Again, this change of attitude occurred, the other way about, toward Musset and Lamartine, as toward Rousseau: it was only after Flaubert had reached intellectual majority that he found Musset's ideals vicious and Lamartine's sentences feminine. Hence his critical judgments are, in some sort, an index of the stages through which he passed. The most considerable omission here, however, is the failure to point out how intimately Flaubert's admiration for Homer and Shakespeare is bound up with his first utterances on impersonality in art (*Corr.* I, pp. 269, 446; above all *Education Sentimentale* of 1845, pp. 266 ff.). It is highly probable that his interpretation of the two great poets at this formative period is to be counted as one of the positive influences toward impersonality. Among the writers of antiquity that left their imprint on Flaubert, Suetonius, too,

[1] *Flaubert . . . avant 1857*. Paris, 1909.

[2] One could wish that Mr. Ferrère had profited by his admission to the collection of Flaubertiana at *Villa Tanit* to tell us if anything is known about the books to which Flaubert had access, other than those he himself mentions; and which translations of Byron and *Faust* he used.

[3] Though the book is dated 1913, there are numerous indications that Mr. Ferrère did not use this edition.

deserves mention. His picture of the imperial court made a lasting impression on the youth, as may be seen in many passages from youthful letters and other writings.

Apart from these two portions of the book Mr. Ferrère has for the most part only restated what is already familiar, especially in the chapters on Flaubert's temperament and philosophical equipment. The familiar device of numerous quotations with running comment is freely used, and our resulting conception of Flaubert the man is about the same as after a perusal of, let us say, Mr. Descharmes' work. It must be added that Mr. Ferrère makes a praiseworthy effort to correct the thesis, maintained especially by Faguet, that Flaubert was incapable of entertaining any abstract proposition, and that if, in the body of this chapter, through excess of zeal, he endows Flaubert with too much philosophy, he makes the needed qualifications in the final paragraph[4] (p. 46).

It is, however, with chapter three, on the general principles of Flaubert's literary doctrine, that we reach more debatable ground. Here the ideas of the independence and impersonality of the artist are claimed to have originated with Flaubert (p. 57). They are, however, to be found in germ in prefaces of Balzac (to *Peau de Chagrin,* 1831), and of Hugo (to *Littérature et Philosophie Mêlées,* 1834). Flaubert's accomplishment is that he carried these suggestions to their logical results, and, as Mr. Ferrère justly observes (p. 67), he had done this, in theory at least, by 1846. But the most striking statement is: "Nous ne croyons pas, pour notre part, que Flaubert *ait jamais été un pur romantique,* et nous développerons plus loin les raisons pour lesquelles nous ne pouvons admettre l'existence des deux hommes que l'on a cru découvrir . . . Nous pouvons donc conclure que, si Flaubert a commencé par être romantique, dès l'époque de *Madame Bovary,* il ne l'a plus été" (pp. 64–65). To be compared with this are the author's own statements: "Son admiration pour Byron date naturellement de l'époque où *il était un pur romantique*" (p. 111). "'Et je maintiens que vous êtes un fier romantique' écrivait-il à Zola. Il aurait pu ajouter: *'En cela vous me ressemblez un peu'*" (p. 251). It is natural that a careful student of Flaubert should react against Faguet's symmetrical romantic-realistic curve for the period after 1849, but he cannot read Flaubert, nor books on Flaubert—not even Mr. Ferrère's—without feeling that Faguet's last analysis is correct, even though put epigrammatically: "On peut dire de Flaubert que l'imagination était sa muse et la réalité sa conscience." Mr. Ferrère maintains that from 1851 on Flaubert never presents himself in his books: that he is not in *Madame Bovary,* and that still more surely is he absent from the second *Education Sentimentale,* to take only the "realistic" ones, but can there be two opinions as to the exactness of that statement?

When he comes to examine Flaubert's choice of subjects (Chap. V), Mr. Ferrère contends that he was not influenced by actuality, but solely by his pessimistic philosophy and by his hunger for beauty (p. 107). The study of his method of composition (Chap. VI) contains the interesting rough drafts and tentative sketches already referred to, with some intelligent observations on Flaubert's use of natural scenery in relation to his characters, and a defense of the scenes in *Salammbô* objected to by Sainte-Beuve. It is in this chapter and the next on "Expression" that Mr. Ferrère had the best opportunity, from a purely analytic standpoint, to justify his book by presenting fresh view-points, based on more extensive or more searching critical analysis than has hitherto been made. His analysis of Flaubert's sentence structure, of his rhythmical effects, have real interest; he demonstrates that it is necessary to enlarge Faguet's characterization of the images in all the novels, and that Flaubert shows everywhere a rich poetic vein; but it is not easy for the reader to determine just what really novel elements this inquiry adds to Flaubert criticism. The same complaint may be registered against the discussion of Flau-

[4] It is odd that Mr. Ferrère did not draw more largely for this chapter on the various versions of the *Tentation.*

bert's influence on his successors. The nature of this influence is pointed out in the adoption by Zola, Maupassant, Daudet and the Goncourts of certain cardinal tenets of the Flaubertian creed, of his technique in description, in character development, in sobriety of style. The parallels given are striking and the subject would bear an amount of further investigation quite out of place in such a book as the one before us. Mr. Ferrère's conclusion is that all these followers of Flaubert lacked the philosophic basis of their master. The question arises whether we should know that Flaubert himself had this philosophic basis if we did not have the self-revelation of his letters.

The secondary theme of the book, as has been mentioned, is the justification of *Salammbô* and *Hérodias* with regard to the charges originated by Sainte-Beuve in 1862 (against *Hérodias* by implication only, as it was not written until 1876–1877). To this end two appendices are added as evidences of the genuine historical and evocative value of these works, with a bibliography for *Salammbô*. The subject, which would require years of research, is too large to be handled in appendices. Mr. Ferrère compares Flaubert's narrative with that of Polybius, but he fails to note the divergences in chronology,[5] nor does he remark how, everywhere, Flaubert selects and combines the highly colored, the picture-making items from which to construct his mosaic. There is no doubt that he did succeed in evoking a past, but the past must have had lights low as well as high. One sees only the high lights when looking backward at the past evoked by Flaubert.

The bibliography, too, needs revision and additions. In fact, while these appendices do give the curious reader the impression aimed at by Mr. Ferrère that *Salammbô* is not a poorly fused medley, something more than that would be needed to justify this apparatus.

Flaubertists already familiar with the best that has been done on the subject, down through Mr. Descharmes' dissertation and the Conard edition of the works, will not glean largely in Mr. Ferrère's book, except in the chapters on Flaubert's reading and stylistic processes. Aside from these portions it is an agreeable and intelligent discussion of all the well-known themes, in a pleasing style. The author protests with justice against certain notions that have been advanced so often that they have attained the dignity of orthodoxy, but one may fairly doubt if these protests, incased in a doctoral dissertation, will reach the particular class of readers who stand in need of such a corrective.

[5] Cf. P. B. Fay, "*Salammbô* and Polybius," *Elliott Monographs*, 2, Baltimore, 1914, pp. 11–35.

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RICHARD WAGNER'S STEPFATHER

Otto Bournot. *Die Stellung Ludwig Geyers in der deutschen Literaturgeschichte.* Rostock Dissertation. Borna-Leipzig, 1912. 8vo., 88 pp.

Otto Bournot. *Ludwig Heinr. Chr. Geyer, der Stiefvater Richard Wagners. Ein Beitrag zur Wagner-Biographie.* Leipzig, 1913. 8vo., 72 pp.

Among the influences most potent in molding the character of the future tone-dramatist Wagner was that of his home environment during his early youth, and in this home environment especially the influence of his stepfather, Ludwig Geyer. Wagner never knew his own father, who died when the boy Richard was exactly six months old. From babyhood on until his eighth year, the year of Geyer's death, he was accustomed to look upon Geyer as his real father, and even in later years his affection for his stepfather was that of a real son. In 1858 it was Geyer's picture that Wagner carried with him on his flight to Venice. In 1873, Frau Cosima could think of no more agreeable birthday surprise for her husband than the performance of Geyer's "Bethlehemitischer Kindermord."

We may expect, then, to find Geyer exerting a father's influence on the boy Richard. This influence is not to be sought in any individual

traits of character or individual passages in Wagner's works, but rather in the general effect which Geyer's personality, his profession, and his home life had upon his son. In spite of all this influence, direct and indirect, due to the close relationship between stepfather and stepson, but little attention has been given in the past to a discussion of Geyer's character and activity. Discussion enough, to be sure, was called forth by Nietzsche's sensational note in "Der Fall Wagner,"[1] where he says:

"War Wagner überhaupt ein Deutscher? Man hat einige Gründe so zu fragen. Es ist schwer in ihm irgend einen deutschen Zug ausfindig zu machen. Er hat, als der grosse Lerner, der er war, viel Deutsches nachmachen gelernt—das ist alles. . . . Sein Vater war ein Schauspieler Namens Geyer. Ein Geyer ist beinahe schon ein Adler. . . ."

According to Nietzsche, then, Wagner was Geyer's son, and, as this Geyer was doubtless a Jew, Wagner can not even be considered a German. This startling theory, which was—and is—shared by countless enemies of Wagner, may now be considered as finally discredited.[2] Although Wagner himself suspected at times that Geyer was his own father, his resemblance to Friedrich Wagner and to his eldest brother Albert was too striking for a possibility of Geyer's fatherhood, biologically considered, to exist. But even if he had been Geyer's son, his ancestry would have been no less genuinely German. The careful investigations of Glasenapp, Avenarius, Kekule von Stradonitz, and especially Bournot, prove conclusively that Geyer's antecedents were as thoroughly German as those of Friedrich Wagner.

Bournot's dissertation aims less to fill a gap in the biography of Wagner than to make a place for Geyer in the history of German literature, especially the period of the Outgoing Romantic School. According to Bournot, Geyer deserves a modest place among the German poets of the early nineteenth century on account of his efforts to combat the "Schicksalstragödie" and to raise the standard of the insipid comedy of his day. Bournot considers him in a sense a precursor of Platen with his "Verhängnisvolle Gabel."

Geyer's "Neue Delila," written about 1815, is one of the first parodies of the "Schicksalstragödie," in which all its absurdities and extravagances are ridiculed in the most exuberant fashion. Thus the heroine Lalage says of the shears, the "Schicksalsinstrument":

Und hier am Boden liegt das Schicksal gross und breit,
Geschicksalt will jetzt sein, man nimmt's, wo man es findet.

In the uncouth hero Rottenbrecher, we have, at the same time, a parody of Fouqué's "Held des Nordens." In fact, the value of Geyer's "Neue Delila" lies entirely in its literary references.

Of Geyer's dramatic works, the "Bethlehemitischer Kindermord"[3] alone can be classed as literature in the commonly accepted sense. This comedy, written but a few months before Geyer's death, contains cleverly worked out situations and shows considerable dramatic and poetic talent.

On the whole, however, Bournot's rehabilitation of Geyer is not convincing and will hardly win a prominent place for him among even the minor poets of the nineteenth century.

The second study is more interesting and valuable, as it gives a full account of Geyer's ancestry back to Benjamin Geyer, ca. 1700, and then discusses his personality as actor, painter and poet. An unusually attractive and gifted man is presented to us here, a character developed by early struggle, a man of great talent in various fields; at the same time one of those unfortunate artists whose talent just failed of being genius. His home was a center of art, music and literature, and the years which the young Richard spent there were naturally of great importance in molding his character.

In Geyer's occasional poems we have much interesting biographical material for Wagner's early childhood. Birthday poems in honor of

[1] Nietzsche, *Werke*, VIII, 39.

[2] Compare the convincing article by O. G. Sonneck, "Was Richard Wagner a Jew?" in the "Papers and Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association at Its Thirty-Third Annual Meeting" (1911), p. 250.

[3] Reclams Universalbibliothek, No. 1979.

Wagner's mother such as the "Frauenlob," written for Frau Johanna's thirty-seventh birthday, Sept. 20, 1815; and "Die Überraschung," dedicated to her in the following year, give a charming and, doubtless, true picture of life in the Geyer household, and portray the characters of the various children. All the Wagner children were strongly influenced by Geyer's noble personality, and we see again and again in Richard Wagner the same striving for a higher German art, the hostility toward foreign influences and the glowing patriotism which characterized his stepfather.

Bournot's second monograph is based on a careful investigation of original sources such as church records, letters and contemporary reviews. Herein it differs materially from earlier publications, most of which, as Bournot remarks, followed uncritically Böttiger's Necrology in the "Dresdner Abendzeitung" of October 29 and 30, 1821.

Both monographs are of worth primarily as contributions to the biography of Wagner. In their treatment of Geyer they smack too much of the doctoral dissertation with its exaggerated estimate of the importance of the subject discussed, and resurrect much that might well remain forgotten.

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THE RELATIONS OF LATIN AND ENGLISH AS LIVING LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND DURING THE AGE OF MILTON. By WELDON T. MYERS. Dayton, Va.: Ruebush-Elkins Co., 1913. 8vo., 163 pp.

The field under survey in this doctoral dissertation is divided by the author into three sections, as follows: I, Latin in the Schools and Universities; II, Latin as an International Language; III, Latin as a Substitute for English. Each section is further subdivided, as follows: I, 1. Latin in the Schools; 2. Latin in the University Curricula and University Administration; 3. Extra-curriculum Uses of Latin: II, 1. Latin in Official Correspondence; 2. Latin in Private Correspondence; 3. Publications in Latin: III, 1. Epistolary Latin; 2. Latin Prose; 3. Latin Poetry; 4. Diffusion of Latin.

The scope of the essay will be perceived from this analysis. It would seem that none of the possible uses of Latin had been overlooked. But does this imply a consideration of "the relations" mentioned in the title? Not necessarily. And indeed those relations are all but lost sight of. The title had therefore been more properly, *The Uses of Latin,* etc. The author's own statement of his theme (p. 10) indicates as much: "Latin, then, as a living and literary tongue alongside of English during the supreme classical age of Milton is the subject of this treatise." On this subject it is a creditable and highly useful piece of work, thorough-going, orderly, illuminating. It presents both for the student of post-classic Latin and for the student of English literature, and, we may add, for the student of the history of education, an instructive body of fact amply supported by quotations. It suggests further valuable work. A paragraph of the Conclusion which speaks of the detriment to English prose from the large uses of Latin—summary statements which the writer made no attempt in his treatise to establish—expressly calls for a monograph on the evidences of Latin influence on English prose in Milton's time. This work, for which Mr. Myers has laid a good foundation, would be well worth doing.

The usefulness of the present monograph is impaired by the want of an index of names and quotations. The bibliography is too scant. The style, which in general is straight-forward and correct, suffers a few lapses and the proof was badly read. Page 90, read, "His exposition of Jewish laws was," etc., not *were;* page 138, omit "Latin" before "verses" and place it before "elegiacs"; page 157, translate *Sol occubuit et nox nulla secuta est,* 'the sun sank and no night followed,' or, 'the sun went to rest while it was still day'; page 164, Latin is spoken of as "lending idiom and style to grammar and sentence," which thing can hardly be.

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Le Roman Idyllique au Moyen Age par MYRRHA LOT-BORODINE. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1913. 8vo., 271 pp.

In this study of five medieval French poems (*Floire et Blancheflor, Aucassin et Nicolete, Galeran de Bretagne, L'Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Palerne*) the aim is to single out, from the general group of the *romans d'aventure,* those romances whose theme bears a certain resemblance to the Greek post-classic sea narratives. As such, these poems are included here under the rubric of *romans idylliques,* with the purpose of marking the stages of development and decline of this genre in medieval French poetry. The plan of the work is similar in some respects to the one adopted by Langlois in his *Société française au XIII^e siècle,* which contains a study, although along more general lines, of two of the poems (*Galeran* and *L'Escoufle*) treated in the present volume.

The author gives an analysis of each poem in the form of a prose rendering with illustrative excerpts in Old-French. These outlines are written in a fine literary vein, especially that of *Floire et Blancheflor,* which embraces the parallel of the aristocratic and bourgeois versions in one narrative. As a pendant to each synopsis, there is an investigation into the sources. For the discussion of these, recourse is had to the technical authorities. It may be said with justice both to the writer of this work as well as to the *public lettré* for whom it is intended, that a book of the sort could dispense with the abstruse problems of origins as extraneous to the main theme. The source data offer little if anything in support of the argument, which deals with the evolution of the idyllic romance in medieval France. The third part of the study of each poem is a critical résumé of the points involved. The book concludes with a general summary. The dates of composition of these poems range through a period of nearly five decades, during an epoch signalized by such names as Philippe Auguste and Innocent III. In this time, the Third and Fourth Crusades were the means whereby France and Flanders came into possession of romantic traditions from the Orient.

Of the five romances in question, there are but two which reveal traces of oriental source. It is only in the case of these two poems (*Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolete*) that an exotic setting is given to the plot, and, in this important respect, they conform to the traditional sea-romances. The action of the other three poems, in each instance, occurs upon the land and in native surroundings. The sea has no part in them. They are in reality *romans d'aventure* sharing in common with the romance of oriental tradition only a similar outline of plot. Upon the evidence afforded by these five poems, the book aims to prove the existence of a literary genre, the *roman idyllique,* developed and consciously modified by the medieval French poets. The task is beset with difficulties, largely due to the lack of data. There is no way to account for the advent on French soil, at the very outset of the period indicated in this book, of the one perfect sea-romance in medieval poetry (*Aucassin et Nicolete*), nor can any adequate statement be set down of the causes which led up to the composition of the poem.

The third chapter of the volume deals with *Galeran de Bretagne.* The theme, although analogous to that of the oriental sources, represents a different tradition. There is no trace of any exotic element in the story and an interval of probably a generation exists between it and *Aucassin et Nicolete.* It is likely that a number of poems of this class were indited during the intermediary years but they are not extant. The gap which separates the two poems in question is a wide one, so much so that the author has discovered in *Galeran de Bretagne* the first symptoms of decline in the *roman idyllique* due to the influence of court poetry and the martial spirit of chivalry. If the poet Renaut was conscious that his work lay within the limits of the idyl of romance tradition, he is to blame for adding to his theme certain elements from the matter of Rome and Britain that are not germane to the early character of this genre. It may be he was not aware of writing more or less than a

simple *roman d'aventure* and that his poem does not really belong to the original group.

In the fourth chapter *L'Escoufle* is dealt with and, in Chapter V, *Guillaume de Palerne.* These romances are shown to yield further proof of the tendencies betrayed in *Galeran de Bretagne.* A new modification arises, common to both poems, in that the *mésalliance* motif ascribes a lineage to the hero inferior to that of the heroine. This process of inversion brings with it the closing phase of the medieval *roman idyllique.*

Such, in brief, is the trend of this work. Its argument, like that in the author's first work on the poetry of Crestien de Troyes, errs through its ingenuity. The book has a style of singular charm. If only the entire number of the *romans d'aventure* could be done into modern French with the same literary finish, they would find their place beside the kindred *Mare au Diable* and *Colette Baudoche.* Their value, as Taine says in his critique of *Renaud de Montauban,* consists in setting before our eyes *les sentiments éteints,* not to be discovered in any other medieval documents.[1]

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Le Théâtre anglais à Paris sous la restauration, par J.-L. Borgerhoff. Paris, Hachette, 1913. xi + 245 pp.

Mr. Borgerhoff has given us the first accurate and extended account of the visits of the English players to Paris between 1820 and 1830. In treating these events so important to romantic drama in France his purpose has been threefold: first, to record all the efforts to introduce Shakespeare to the Parisian public during the third decade of the nineteenth century; second, to show the influence of a first-hand knowledge of the English dramatist upon writers, actors, and the public in general; third, to emphasize the fact that the author of *Hamlet* and *Othello* was considered rather as an example of dramatic freedom than as a model.

The failure of the first English performances, those of 1823, was, as M. Albert has already said, "le triomphe des imbéciles et des voyous." Mr. Borgerhoff offers us a very good explanation for the chauvinism of the audience and for the well-known cry, "à bas Shakespeare! c'est un lieutenant de Wellington." The management had unfortunately invited disturbance by printing on the posters the following announcement: "By his Britannic Majesty's most humble servants will be performed the tragedy of Othello in 5 acts by the most celebrated Shakespeare." Just at that time "his Britannic Majesty" was too closely associated with Waterloo and Hudson Lowe to allow "the most celebrated Shakespeare" a fair hearing.

As to the performances of 1827–8 and a few of the summer of 1829 Mr. Borgerhoff has collected a great deal of valuable information concerning the troupe and its repertory. A useful list of the plays and the dates upon which they were given enables us to study the tastes of the audiences; for example, the majority of the plays given were not Shakespearean, and of the seven Shakespearean plays, *Hamlet, Othello,* and the *Merchant of Venice* were given seven times each, *Romeo and Juliet* four, while *Macbeth, Richard III,* and *King Lear* were played only three times each. The press of the period devoted considerable space to the English actors and the English drama in general, and Mr. Borgerhoff has selected representative passages from the *Globe,* the *Journal des Débats,* the *Gazette de France,* and other newspapers of the day in order to show the part which the English actors played in the struggle for romantic drama.

The author has laid much stress upon the influence exerted by the English school of acting, implying that Kean, Macready, Kemble, and Miss Smithson gave Paris its first opportunity of seeing histrionic realism. As a matter of fact Talma and Mlle. Mars knew

[1] There are a few defective bibliographical references in the footnotes. In the case of *Aucassin et Nicolete,* it is preferable to cite the contemporary edition, viz., the eighth instead of the fifth; also the third edition of the Michaut version.

perfectly well that part of the success of the melodrama was due to realistic acting. Frédéric Lemaître had "out-Heroded Herod" long before Macready came to Paris, and it was because of her training at the popular theaters that Marie Dorval was able to make the last act of *Chatterton* one of the most realistic of romantic drama. The English actors lent prestige to realistic acting, just as Shakespeare had to freedom in the drama, and allowed Ligier and Mlle. Mars to throw off some of their conventions without exposing themselves to the criticism that they were imitating the actors of the melodrama.

Although Mr. Borgerhoff has performed his task well and has presented many interesting details regarding these visits of the English actors, yet in his searching of old newspaper files he has not found as much as Edmond Biré or M. Des Granges. There are no new facts of any importance or any novel point of view. The student of the English influence upon romantic drama in France, however, will always find the present volume a valuable book of reference.

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Representative French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century, edited by G. N. Henning. Boston, Ginn, 1913. xvii + 406 pp.

This is an excellent anthology. It shows discrimination in selections, carefulness of editing, capability in the matter of critical notices. Furthermore, its great and distinctive merit is that each poet is represented to the extent of about twenty selections, or an average of thirty-five pages. One is enabled to stay with Hugo or with Heredia long enough to have an idea of what he stands for, instead of sipping incidental honey from a hundred flowers whose proper names are soon forgotten.

Thus, in an aggregate of eight thousand lines, the chief poets of the nineteenth century are adequately set forth. They are: Lamartine, Vigny, Hugo, Musset, Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Sully Prudhomme, Heredia and Verlaine. No exception can reasonably be taken to the inclusion of any of these names; though one may wish that the list could have numbered twelve, to include also Coppée and Théodore de Banville. Perhaps in his next edition Professor Henning might subjoin to his indications of "Additional Poems Recommended for Reading" certain titles from the last two mentioned. This feature, by the way, of an appendix suggesting further poems, will be helpful to the advanced student, as well as to the general reader, to whose taste this volume should surely appeal.

Few representative poems, of signal importance, seem to have been omitted from the double roster. Can the same be said of the first list alone, of what is actually printed? I think, on the whole, it can, and Mr. Henning is to be complimented on success in the most delicate and bewildering part of his task, that which required most penetration, taste and proportionment. To express any recommendation that he must have foreseen, weighed and rejected is perhaps unnecessary. At the same time, since every editor of an anthology exposes himself to a bombardment concerning omitted "favorites," I had as well mention mine—with the proviso that I shall try to make out a case for their *representative* character.

From Vigny, it seems that the part of *L'Esprit Pur* which shows his proud devotion to intellectuality might well have been given; it is true that Professor Henning has granted us portions of *La Bouteille à la Mer;* but he would allow, I think, to the first poem a keener "note," a more personal fervor in the cause proclaimed in its title. The wide and happy choice from Hugo leaves still a little doubt as to whether his range as a technical virtuoso is sufficiently exemplified. Nothing given would show this power so well as the omitted *Guitare* ("Gastibelza, l'homme à la carabine") or *Les Djinns.* Were these too hackneyed (cf. the editor's wise word on this, p. v), or does Mr. Henning consider that mere technical dexterity needs no emphasis?

A clearer case is the omission of anything

that would illustrate Musset's true light song-quality. Why not the *Chanson de Barberine, Adieu, Suzon,* or even "Ninon, Ninon, que fais-tu de la vie?" (The piece called *Chanson* and *Rappelle-Toi*—both given—have not this light lilt.) Finally, I am certain that Sully Prudhomme should be represented by one of his sadder, more personal love-poems, such as *Soupir* or *Inquiétude.* As to all the others, and especially Lamartine, Baudelaire and Heredia, Mr. Henning's choice seems nearly perfect. The hand that has picked with such sureness two hundred gems may certainly be allowed a little wavering.

The notes are appropriately less grammatical than literary and historical. They give concisely the necessary explanations. In the main body of the work, each poet is preceded by a notice of a few pages, summarizing his characteristics and achievements. The excellence of the foreshortening here deserves illustration. The influences on Lamartine, for instance (Ossian, Byron, Chateaubriand, etc.), are carefully and compactly detailed. His images are thus analyzed: "Light, fluid, elusive, suggestive, emotional rather than visual, interweaving the aspirations of the heart with the phenomena of nature, they in a measure anticipate modern Symbolism" (p. 6). Vigny's chief qualities are stated as "sincerity, sensibility, reserve, intelligence" (p. 44). The timely point is made that his pessimism, "far from being supine or misanthropic, counsels energy and pity" (p. 46). The *procédés* of Hugo's imagination are convincingly rendered (p. 87). It is true and worth saying that Musset "lacked *haleine*" and, in effect, that Maia was the goddess of Leconte de Lisle (pp. 153 and 220). Heredia "shows in his work an hereditary combination of brilliance and order" (p. 304). The concluding sentences of each notice are particularly pointed and worthy of study.

On the other hand, Mr. Henning's statements seem occasionally a little too sweeping and absolute. An illustration with regard to his own work is that "all excisions have been indicated" (*sc.* "in these selections," p. vi). That is not quite exact. Several cases have been noted where the indication is either non-existent or so slight as to escape attention. A capital instance is Vigny's *La Bouteille à la Mer,* where half the poem has been omitted, in half-a-dozen different segments; the unity of the piece is also somewhat impaired here (which is not generally the case) and yet there is no mention of excisions.

In the matter of critical judgments, the following may be viewed as too dogmatic.—That the Pléiade "were only half successful in their attempt to found a school of poetry based on the study and the assimilation of the art of antiquity" (p. 1). That, with regard to Chénier, "almost none of his verse was published until 1819"[1] (p. 2). That Hugo was prone (habitually, is the implication) to "depicting man's past in the gloomiest colors" (p. 85). (Granted, with reservations, for the *Légende des Siècles.*) That he never entirely suppressed the "traditional median cesura" (p. 86). (A moot point; but to allow a cesura where the stress would fall on a quite insignificant connective—see Thieme for examples[2]—seems a French convention of little reality, if one holds that mere tonic stress does not make a cesura.) Also, though it tends desirably to emphasize Hugo's poetry, is it not too emphatic to declare that "few of his plays are ever given on the stage now, most of his romances are forgotten" (p. 87)?

I am not yet convinced (*pace* Estève) that Vigny was indebted to Byron "for the idea of using poetry as the vehicle of philosophical thought" (p. 45). To the sources of his sadness should be added[3] the failure of the aristocratic ideal (*ibid.*). With regard to Gautier, whose skill in the "transposition of arts" Mr. Henning so wisely stresses, is it not a little too detrimental to say that he did not "possess any real creative imagination" (pp. 196–7)? "Symbolism produced no real genius" (p. 328) seems very absolute, as well as: "To-day, in France as in the world in general, there are

[1] See Lanson, *Manuel Bibliographique,* XVIIIe siècle.

[2] *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott,* I, 210.

[3] Cf. Baldensperger, *Alfred de Vigny,* Paris, Hachette, 1913. ("Les deux Tristesses de Vigny," pp. 1–24.)

no great living lyric poets" (p. 346). In fact, to many minds, Mr. Henning will seem a little severe in his treatment of Baudelaire, Verlaine and the ultra-moderns.

Two smaller points and I have done with objections. A reference to Alceste in the notes declares that "he was brutally frank and grouty[4] rather than misanthropic" (p. 370). The very short *résumé* on versification contains the statement that "without rhyme there can be no French verse, for it could not be distinguished from prose" (p. 403). Perhaps it were well to suspend judgment here.

This outline of versification is extremely compact and thereby difficult. There are one or two errors of detail, yet most of the stuff is there for those who will take the trouble to dig for it. The same may be said of the volume as a whole; it is rewarding to the interested and industrious. Its dominant note is sincerity, just the note which the editor stresses in his chosen poets, for lack of which he apparently rules out Coppée and De Banville.

This anthology should help the cause. I know of nothing better for its period. If Mr. Henning were to continue his labors with a companion volume of poets preceding the nineteenth century, we should indeed have a splendid basis for appreciation of what is still to our schools a twilight and debatable land.

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Karl Löffler, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten.* (XLI. Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.) Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1912. 8vo., viii + 185 pp.

The celebrated Benedictine abbey of Weingarten in Germany once contained such manuscript treasures as the oldest of the three world-renowned Minnesinger manuscripts, but fate has scattered its books to the four corners of the earth. The work here reviewed is an attempt to trace the history of this valuable collection, and to determine as far as may be the present location of the manuscripts.

The most ancient group of these came originally from the Cathedral library of Constance, whence they were transferred by purchase in the year 1630. But the Weingarten library itself had already then enjoyed a long and illustrious career, having been founded in 1053 by the transference of an older community of monks from Altdorf near Ravensburg. Its early history is closely connected with that of the House of Guelf, and a special school of calligraphy and *de luxe* binding was early developed.

During the Napoleonic era in Germany Weingarten lost its library, and after many vicissitudes due to war conditions the major portion of its contents found a resting place in the Landesbibliothek of Stuttgart, while other parts are at Fulda, Darmstadt and other German cities. The most valuable jewel-bedecked manuscripts seem to have been taken to Paris by the French, whence they found their way nearly a century ago to the private library of Lord Leicester at Holkham Hall in England.

Among the literary manuscripts may be mentioned the chief Classical Latin authors, such as Terence, Cicero and Ovid; many collections of German poems from the earliest times; Petrarch's De remediis utriusque fortunae, and numerous Late Latin writers.

George C. Keidel.

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[4] The word is found in the *New International*, but —.

CORRESPONDENCE

Analogues to the Story of Selvagia in Montemayor's *Diana*

A considerable portion of the first book of Montemayor's *Diana* is occupied with Selvagia's recital of the suffering caused to herself and her three companions by unrequited love, for by some curious caprice of Fate, the ardent

shepherd or shepherdess was destined to meet only with rebuffs from the object of his or her love:

"Ved qué estraño embuste de amor. Si por uentura Ysmenia yua al campo, Alanio tras ella, si Montano yua al ganado, Ysmenia tras el, si yo andaua al monte con mis ouejas, Montano tras mi. Si yo sabia que Alanio estaua en un bosque donde solia repastar, allá me yua tras el. Era la más nueua cosa del mundo oyr cómo dezia Alanio sospirando, ¡ay Ysmenia!, y cómo Ysmenia dezia ¡ay Seluagia!, y cómo Seluagia dezia ¡ay Montano! y cómo Montano dezia ¡ay mi Alanio!" [1]

It has been noted that this ingenious arrangement of unhappy shepherds and shepherdesses is found in the sixth Idyll of Moschus,[2] in which, as in the *Diana:*

through Echo, Pan,
Lyde, and Satyr, Love his circle ran.

Years before the publication of the *Diana,* however, the theme appeared in the Spanish peninsula in the *Auto Pastoril Portuguez* of Gil Vicente, performed in 1523. It is here employed as an introduction to a Christmas play, and preserves the pastoral atmosphere. The same laments are expressed by the six characters who find their ardent love unrequited:

Joanne. Oh Catalina!
Catalina. Oh Fernando!
Fernando. Oh Madanella!
Madanella. Oh Affonso!
Oh quando, quando
Me quereras algum bem!
Affonso. Oh Inez! quanto mal tem
Esta maleita, em que ando!
. . . . . .
Fernando. Isto chamam amor louco,
Eu por ti e tu por outro.[3]

[1] I have used the edition of the *Diana* published by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in vol. II of *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907. The passage quoted above is found on page 264.

[2] Georg Schönherr, *Jorge de Montemayor, Sein Leben und sein Schäferroman, die "Siete Libros de la Diana."* Halle, 1886, p. 42.

[3] *Obras de Gil Vicente*, Lisboa, 1852, Vol. I, p. 136. These last words of Fernando are glossed by Alanio in the *Diana* in what is called an *antiguo cantar:*

Amor loco ¡ay amor loco!
yo por uos, y uos por otro.

Orígenes de la Novela, vol. II, p. 265.

The knot is left untied,[4] and the play ends with the adoration of the Virgin.

The same situation, considerably developed, is found in the *Discordia y question de amor,*[5] attributed to Lope de Rueda. As in Vicente's play, three shepherds and shepherdesses suffer the ills of unrequited love, and after recrimination on all sides, they decide to refer the question to Cupid himself. The latter, while asleep, has been robbed of bow and quiver and bound fast by Diana and a nymph. The lovers, disobeying the express command of Diana, release the god who offers to help them in return for the service. Cupid is unable to satisfy the contending parties, and leads them away in his own chains. Here we find other themes such as the triumph of Chastity over Love joined to the question of love unreturned.

The subject receives a still different treatment at the hands of Joaquín Romero de Cepeda in his *Comedia Metamorfosea.*[6] Again we have three shepherds and shepherdesses suffering the pains of unrequited love, and each blaming another for heartlessness:

Belisena. Por mi Medoro suspiro.
Eleno. Belisena es mi querer.
Albina. Eleno me ha dado el tiro.
Belisena. Medoro, vuelte á mi.
Medoro. Yo no te quiero, pastora.
Eleno. Belisena, mi señora.
Belisena. Eleno, dejame aqui.
Albina. Eleno, mirame agora.
Eleno. ¿Cómo se ha de concluir
Y dar fin á este debate?

Eleno's question is one which naturally occurs to the reader. The author, however, makes a gallant effort to reach a solution. A metamorphosis takes place simultaneously in their hearts, and each shepherd and shepherdess affirms his or her love for the person who a moment before had been scorned. This change leads to as difficult a situation as the previous

[4] A somewhat similar theme is treated in Vicente's *Tragicomedia pastoril da Serra da Estrella.*

[5] Republished from an edition of 1617 by Francisco R. de Uhagón in the *Revista de Archivos*, Vol. VI, 1902.

[6] Published by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, Vol. I, Paris, 1838.

one, and the play ends without the reconciliation of the lovers.

It is interesting to find the same motive treated in several Italian pastoral plays of the sixteenth century. A tragic solution is found in the *Discordia d'amore* (1526) of Marco Guazzo in which "due giovani e due fanciulle amano tutti, ma disposti come a ruota, e ciascuno disprezza chi l'ama."[7] A tragedy is narrowly averted in another pastoral entitled *Lo Sfortunato* (1567) of Argenti, in which "Sfortunato prega d'amore Dafne ma ne è respinto; alla sua volta questa prega d'amore Jacinto, ma ne è respinta; Jacinto prega Flaminia, ma ne è respinto; Flaminia prega Silvio, ma ne è respinta."[8] The argument of Alvise Pasqualigo's pastoral play, *Gli Intricati,* as stated by Selvaggia, one of the characters, betrays at once the influence of the *Diana* of Montemayor:

> Io per Alanio mi consumo e moro,
> Alanio per Ismenia, ohime! si strugge;
> Ismenia per Montano ogn'hor s'affligge,
> e Montano per me suo tempo perde.
> Ismenia un tempo Alanio amar soleva,
> in odio havendo di Montano il cuore. . .[9]

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Two Dramatic Notes

(1) *"Genowa" and "Genoway"*

In Furness's Variorum Edition of *The Merchant of Venice* there is a somewhat extended note on the spelling "Genowa," which occurs several times in the first scene of the third act. Dr. Furness cites with disapproval White's contention that the *w* shifts the accent to the second syllable; and he mentions the "curious" distinction made by Howell, in his *Instructions for Forraine Travel* (1642), between "Genowa," the city, and "Genoway," the inhabitant. The learned commentator, however, offers no explanation for either form.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the presence either of the *w* or of the long *a,* if one remembers the Italian originals of the words: "Genova," the city, and "Genovese" (*-vay*-zay), the inhabitant. The latter form is of course recognized in English, Tennyson using it in the last line of *Columbus:*

> I am but an alien and a Genovese.

It will be seen that the *w* is merely a weakened *v,* such as is found in "Lodowick," another Anglicized Italian name. The *y* helps to reproduce the English long *a* sound of the Italian *e.*

(2) *Revenge for Honour* and *Othello*

In his admirable edition of Chapman's tragedies, Dr. Parrott discusses at some length the sources of *Revenge for Honour.* Although he notes three passages for which parallels can be found in *Othello,*[1] he does not include Shakespeare's play among the works that helped furnish the inspiration for this seventeenth century melodrama.

The resemblances, which are more than merely verbal, seem significant. Both dramas deal with the Oriental conception of marital honor; both husbands are unpolished, gullible warriors; and both villains are intellectual, materialistic, and remorseless.

It is in the development of the knavery that there is perhaps the most noticeable similarity. Mura, himself a dupe, prepares the soil of Almanzor's mind for the seed of suspicion by means of words almost identical with Iago's: "I do not like this." Abrahen, the master fiend, soliloquizes thus:

> Be they as harmless as the prayers of virgins,
> I'll work his ruin out of his intentions. I, i, 423–4.

[7] Ferdinando Neri, *La Tragedia italiana del Cinquecento,* Firenze, 1904, pp. 13–15.

[8] Enrico Carrara, *Storia dei generi letterari italiani, La Poesia pastorale,* Milano, 1909, p. 330.

[9] Carrara, *ibid.,* pp. 347 and 436.

[1] *Revenge for Honour,* I, i, 290-2; III, i, 184-6; IV, ii, 134-7 *Othello;* III, iii, 349-50; I, i, 76-7; V, ii, 347-8.

Compare the ancient's plan:

> And out of her own goodness [I will] make the net
> That shall enmesh them all. II, i, 367–8.

Mura's feigned solicitude,

> 'Tis too secure a confidence betrays
> Minds valiant to irreparable dangers. II, i, 90–1,

is strongly suggestive of the Venetian's:

> I would not have your free and noble nature,
> Out of self-bounty, be abused. III, iii, 199–200.

When called upon for a "testimonial" or a "living reason," each slanderer falsely quotes the man whom he accuses. Each invokes the manly self-control of his victim in order to prevent a disastrous outbreak, at the same time seeing to it that the newly-excited wrath does not abate. In both dramas, a handkerchief is used as an instrument of evil. Finally, the line

> And who can say now Abrahen is a villain?
> IV, i, 315.

is nothing less than an echo of Iago's challenge:

> What's he then that says I play the villain?
> II, i, 342.

Besides the parallels pointed out by Dr. Parrott, the following echoes may be found interesting:

> Make us not a stranger to your thoughts.
> *R. for H.*, I, i, 86.

> Makest his ear
> A stranger to thy thoughts. *Oth.* III, iii, 143–4.

In his extremity, the wronged Mura cries out:

> Methinks the horror of the sound should fright
> To everlasting ruin the whole world. III, i, 166–7.

Othello's words are:

> Methinks it should be now a huge eclipse
> Of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe
> Should yawn to alteration. V, ii, 99–100.

> *Mura*—My just-waked wrath shall riot till it sink
> In the remorseless eddy. III, i, 208–9.

> *Othello*—My bloody thoughts, with violent pace,
> Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,
> Till that a wide and capable revenge
> Swallow them up. III, iii, 457–60.

> If those on which his eyes hang were my heart-strings.
> *R. for H.*, IV, i, 64–5.

> Though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings.
> *Oth.* III, iii, 261.

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VITZLIPUTZLI

To my note on *Vitzliputzli* (*Modern Language Notes*, November, 1913) I beg to add the following quotation from Gryphius' *Horribilicribrifax*, Act. I, Scene 1: "Behüte mich der grosse Vitriputrli." Here Vitriputrli is obviously identical with Vitzliputzli.

The reference was kindly pointed out to me by Prof. G. W. von Zedlitz of Victoria College, University of New Zealand.

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CHAUCER'S PROPHECY IN 1586

An interesting reference to "Chaucer's Prophecy" is found in a letter of information and complaint addressed by "A.B." to Lord Burghley, dated July ?, 1586.[1] The substance of the letter is given in the *Calendar* as follows:

"Wm. White, a merchant of these West parts, informed the writer that being at St. Malo last month, he heard that 16 of their ships and barks had been rifled or taken by English men-of-war, and that their hatred of the English was such that our merchants dare not walk about in public."

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda*, 1580–1625, p. 181. The reference was called to my attention by Dr. Carleton Brown.

The paragraph that is of special interest I quote in full (the italics are mine):[2]

"A commandment came from the kyng, for proysyon of certyn ships out of that harbor, & as he thynks generally to be yn readynes for the sea, the speach thear was for rochell, but the certeinty not known. Surely Chawcer's provysey never toke so deepe effect yn yngland & specyally yn the west *parts* as now, for *theaft ys made good purchace.* Such ys our world heere as men yn greatest auctority, to recover theyr vnthriftynes past sell theyr lands & buy shyps, commandying the captain & company, not to retorn wthout assurance of a very great some, least they shold leaue as loosers by that occupatyon: thys was commandyd by a man most vnfytt for any government; for some respects hyt wer more convenient he shold be made known to yowr *Honours* by any other, then by myself" . . .

The phrase "theaft ys made good purchace" clearly identifies the reference to the third line of the poem which Skeat prints with two others under the heading "Sayings Printed by Caxton."[3]

> Whan feyth failleth in prestes sawes,
> And lordes hestes ar holden for lawes,
> And robbery is holden purchas,
> And lechery is holden solas,
> Than shal the lond of Albyon
> Be brought to grete confusioun.

Though the prophecy has come down to us associated with Chaucer's name, there is no early authority for ascribing it to Chaucer. It was first printed by Caxton at the end of an edition containing Chaucer's *Anelida* and *Purse,* from a MS. (Trin. Coll. Cam. MS. R 3 15) where it chanced to stand among a number of genuine Chaucerian poems. Thynne included it in his edition of Chaucer, 1532, placing it, with other anonymous pieces without heading, at the end of the Table of Contents; it was reprinted in the editions of 1542 and 1550, and in the editions of Stow and Speght; but in none of these editions was it definitely ascribed to Chaucer.[4] The earliest place where the lines are actually called "Chaucer's Prophecy" is in Ashmole MS. 781, art. 92, fol. 162, written between 1620 and 1631; and doubtless on the authority of this MS., Urry entitled them "Chaucer's Prophecy" in his edition of 1721.

The prophecy, moreover, is found in several varying forms, some of them of considerable antiquity; and versions closely allied to this are attributed to Merlin. A 15th century MS. (Ashmole 59, art. 52, fol. 78) contains one, entitled "Prophecia Merlini doctoris perfecti," of which the cataloguer remarks,[5] "These four couplets are perhaps the correct form of what is called Chaucer's Prophecy in the printed editions of his works . . . and in a modern MS. in this collection (No. 781, art. 92) . . ."

In spite of the absence of editorial authority, the uncritical Elizabethan readers of Thynne's edition evidently assumed that all the contents of the volume were Chaucer's. Puttenham, in his *Art of English Poesie,*[6] 1589, prefaces an inaccurate quotation of the prophecy with these words: "Sir Geffrey Chaucer, father of our English Poets, hath these verses following the distributor."

That a scholar and rhetorician like Puttenham, writing a formal treatise on rhetoric, should display acquaintance with Thynne's Chaucer is not remarkable. But that an obscure political agent like A.B., three years before Puttenham, should quote Chaucer casually in an ordinary business letter is significant; especially since he refers to the poem as one which Lord Burleigh would readily recognize, and does not even take the trouble to make his quotation exact. The allusion sheds light upon the extent of Elizabethan acquaintance with Chaucer, and the whole case well illustrates the way in which anonymous material was gradually gathered into the Chaucer canon.

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[2] This portion referring to the Prophecy has been copied for me from the original among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, by Miss Petherbridge.

[3] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces,* p. 450; Oxford Chaucer, Vol. VII, Supp. to the Works.

[4] See *Oxford Chaucer,* ed. Skeat, v. 1, pp. 27, 45. Miss Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual,* N. Y., 1908, p. 447.

[5] *Catalogue of Ashmole MSS.,* W. H. Black, Oxford, 1845, p. 102.

[6] Bk. III, ch. xix; Arber's reprint, p. 232.

Fortune's Wheel and Boethius

Mr. Stanley L. Galpin's letter in *Modern Language Notes* for February (pp. 62–63), quoting the passage from the Old French poem *Les Échecs Amoureux* concerning Fortune's wheel, is interesting but gives rise to some objections and comment. He speaks of the poet "advising people to shun the periphery which moves so fast, and to remain as close as possible to the hub where the motion is much less." He considers this the "application of centrifugal force to the wheel of Fortune."

First, it is evident from the passage he quotes that there is no reference to the "centrifugal force" of the wheel at all. People are not scattered to the rim; there is no emphasis on the difficulty of getting to the center. Secondly, we are not by any means sure that the whole wheel is really under the dominion of Fortune. The person who wishes to escape from the perils of the world where Fortune reigns, is advised to seek the center of this wheel, where, presumably, Fortune does not reign. At the rim, to be sure, there is plenty of "whirling up and doun," but at the center is peace and "vertu." This is enough to recall to mind a parallel conception that Mr. Galpin himself may have had in mind but did not wish to include in his short note. I refer to the familiar figure of the wheel of Fate and Providence in Boethius (*Cons. Phil.*, Bk. IV, pr. VI, 61–77, ed. Peiper). The parallel is even more striking when one takes into consideration the gloss found on this passage in a Latin commentary in a manuscript of the late tenth or eleventh centuries, and doubtless as early as the latter part of the ninth century, since it was used by Alfred. (Scholia of Monacensis 19452 Saec. X–XI to IV pr. VI 110, 61 ff. Zu König Alfreds 'Boethius,' Dr. Georg Schepss. *ASNS.*, 94, 153. Alfred's expansion and development of the passage is suggestive.)

In neither of the parallel passages above referred to, is there a substitution of Fortune for Fate, and so they differ essentially from the Old French treatment. On the other hand, Fate is not so clearly distinguished from Fortune in Boethius that a poet could not easily substitute the one for the other if he was not interested in philosophical distinctions. In this same section there are several references to the abstract *fortuna*. In the same book (pr. VII) Boethius almost suggests the "Christian Fortune"; that is, fortune is governed by God and is not so haphazard after all—or, not so different from fate. Again, in the passage with the figure of the wheel, Fate seems particularly changeable.

In the Old French poem, Fortune was wanted rather than Fate because she was more familiar; because she was needed in another place for the "conventional" treatment; and because she was useful for the emphasis on the *changeable* element. Fortune and the wheel were the usual combination in poetry: let it be "sa roe" once more. If the wheel-figure of Boethius were very well known, real power came into the lines:

> Fuye dont l'extremite telle,
> Et pense de vertu ensuivre.

The poet could, of course, find the passage in Jean de Meun's translation of Boethius.

While this discussion disagrees with Mr. Galpin's interpretation of the Old French treatment, it does not in the least derogate from the uniqueness of the example in Old French poetry.

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Atalaya de la Vida Humana

"Esto mismo le sucedió á este mi pobre libro, que habiéndolo entitulado: Atalaya de la vida humana, dieron en llamarle Pícaro, y no se conoce ya por otro nombre." These words occur in the second part of Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* (libro I, cap. VI), and their meaning has long been a subject of conjecture. It does not seem likely that Alemán can be referring to an edition earlier than that of Várez de Castro, Madrid, 1599; consequently, some other explanation must be sought.

Rodríguez Marín thinks that Alemán did not write the subtitle, but that his words are due to a lapse of memory: "Trascordábase Mateo Alemán en cuanto á lo primero, pues no llamó *Atalaya de la vida humana* sino á la parte segunda de su novela; pero en lo otro decía fielmente lo sucedido: que no bien salieron á correr mundo los ejemplares de la primera edición, *el Pícaro* llamaron al protagonista y al libro cuantos saborearon la deleitable historia."[1]

In the introduction to *The "Sucesos" of Mateo Alemán* I mentioned an explanation of Alemán's statement given me by Dr. F. De Haan,[2] whose words I now quote in full: "The explanation of Alemán's remark would seem to be that he had written on the title page of his MS. 'Atalaya,' etc., and that the publishers removed this in order to make the book's title sound more attractive to the public."

Perhaps a step in the direction of settling this question may be taken by reference to the *Privilegio* found in the copy of the first edition of *Guzmán de Alfarache* owned by the Hispanic Society of America. This *Privilegio,* printed under the rubric *El Rey,* contains these words: "nos fue fecha relacion, que vos auiades cõpuesto vn libro, intitulado Primera parte de la vida de Guzman de Alfarache, atalaya de la vida humana, del qual ante los de nuestro Consejo hizistes presentacion." Apparently the title was quoted exactly from the manuscript in hand, but if we turn to the title page, we find it reads simply *Primera parte de Guzman de Alfarache.* When nearly a year later (March 4, 1599) a copy of the book fresh from the press reached the hands of Gonçalo de la Vega the escribano, in order that he might make out the Tassa, he says that he has seen "un libro intitulado *Primera parte de Guzman de Alfarache.*"

The word 'Pícaro' occurs in the *Aprobación* given by Fray Diego Dávila on Jan. 13, 1598, where he refers to the book as *Primera parte del Picaro Guzman de Alfarache,* and also in the dedication in which Alemán himself speaks of the "desechado Picaro." The three other editions of 1599, as well as several of those that follow, insert the word *pícaro* on the title page, much to the regret of the author.

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[1] *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española el día 27 de octubre de 1907.* Sevilla, 1907, p. 24.

[2] *Revue Hispanique,* no. 68, page 359.

THE *Sagittary* OF *Othello*

The commentators say that *Sagittary* of *Othello* I, i, 173; I, iii, 136, is either the name of an inn, or the official residence of the army and navy commanders in the Arsenal at Venice. The second suggestion is impossible from references in Scene ii. Othello is just outside Desdemona's hiding place, "being not at his lodging to be found." He refers also not to an inn but to "a house": "I will but spend a word here in the house." This house is precisely in the Sagittary, for Brabantio is brought there, true to appointment made in Scene ii. As regards Scene iii, the Ancient would be no better qualified than anyone else to find the Arsenal, or a public inn.

Sagittary is simply an Anglicized form of *Frezzaria,* 'street of the arrow-makers,' next to the Merceria the most important street in the San Marco quarter of Venice. Any description of Venice would have furnished Shakespeare with the term.

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CHAUCER'S SERPENT-PIT

To the numerous references to pits filled with serpents collected by Professor Tatlock (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXIX, 99–100) to illustrate Chaucer's legend of Cleopatra, may be added another, which occurs in many collections of Miracles of Our Lady. In the Vendome *Miracles de la B. V. M.,* preserved in a manuscript of the thirteenth century this tale bears the title: "De quodam qui uidit puteum plenum serpentibus."[1] In this case the person who beholds this terrifying vision is a young man from Germany on a visit to Clairvaux. Ac-

cording to the usual account, however, the vision is seen by a nun who was on the point of returning to the worldly life. In Mussafia's lists of *Marienlegenden* (*Sitzungsb. Wien. Akad.* 113 and 115) this story is registered in the following MS. collections: Paris Bibl. Nat. 14463 (XII cent.) and 12593 (XIII cent.), Copenhagen Thott 26 (XII–XIII cent.), Leipzig 821 (XIII cent.) and 819 (XIII cent.), Cambray 739, Paris Bibl. Nat. 17491 (XIII cent.) and 18134 (XIII cent.), and Charleville 168 (XIII cent.). It occurs also in B. M. Addit. MS. 33956 (XIV cent.), fol. 72 (Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II. 673).

I should hardly venture to point to this Marian legend as a source for Chaucer, though it may appropriately find a place beside the other serpent pits cited by Professor Tatlock, and for that matter it is a story which Chaucer is much more likely to have known than many of those to which attention has been called.

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BRIEF MENTION

With their *Selections from Montaigne*, edited by C. H. C. Wright, of Harvard, and their *Pages choisies de Calvin*, edited by Daniel Jordan, of Columbia, Messrs. D. C. Heath and Co. have filled a serious gap in the series of American text-books for the study of French classic literature. These two volumes on the sixteenth century are carefully prepared and well edited, the selections are wisely made, and while sufficient to give the reader a fair idea of the author's style, are not so voluminous as to deter him from their perusal. The *Calvin* is supplied with a good glossary, the *Montaigne* with full notes; the retention of *i* for *j* in the latter text is to be regretted. The editors and publishers are to be thanked for having put these texts within reach of the American student. M. P. B.

Notwithstanding the numerous texts dealing with one aspect or another of German *Realien*, there has hitherto been a notable lack of a book suited for more serious study in upper college classes. This need has now been very well met by the publication of *Ein Charakterbild von Deutschland*, compiled and edited by M. B. Evans and Elisabeth Merhaut (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1914). A large number of sketches, gathered and pieced together from a still larger number of authors, treat such topics as The German Language, German Cities, Recent Political History, Form of Government, Trade and Industry, Achievements in Science, Philosophy, Literature, and Art, German Education, Sport. In the main, these subjects are, within the limits imposed, treated in a highly satisfactory manner. The piecing process has, to be sure, left seams here and there. Thus there is no adequate motivation for the "abermals" of p. 108, l. 21, and under the heading "Philosophie" the remark cited from Bartels on p. 152, ll. 18–21, is clearly out of place. In his annotation the editor has exercised great reserve, properly so, in view of the multitude of things that invited comment. In some cases this reserve is perhaps carried too far. No one not already familiar with the facts could, for example, understand the allusions in the first paragraph of "Der deutsch-französische Krieg" (p. 94), nor will any one but a reader of Nietzsche make much out of "Herren- und Sklavenmoral" or of "revaluation of all values," which is the editor's comment on "Umwertung aller Werte" (p. 152). In many respects the book is refreshingly modern, so in its treatment of the Berlin stage. The opening of the municipal University of Frankfurt (p. 234) has, however, been anticipated by half a year, while, on the other hand, the "Königliche Bibliothek" of p. 17, l. 1, has for some time past been replaced by the new monumental structure on Unter den Linden. The map that accompanies the volume is inadequate, as the editor himself seems to have recognized.

[1] Ed. H. Isenard, Orleans, 1888, p. 48.

In his *Orígenes del Romancero* [1] R. Menéndez Pidal reviews Foulché-Delbosc's criticism of his theories in regard to the Spanish ballad (cf. *M. L. N.*, XXIX, p. 32). While the review is not free from the personal element inaugurated in the original discussion, the important issues are set forth in a clear-cut manner that is in harmony with the author's previous works on the Spanish epic. In addition to correcting various errors in Foulché-Delbosc's pamphlet, Menéndez Pidal reaffirms and elucidates his own views on the fundamental ques-

[1] *Revista de Libros* (Madrid: Vicente Rico), Enero, 1914, pp. 3–14.

tions involved. Especially interesting and valuable is the new material in support of the view that "les romances de la frontière sont de petits poèmes, nés au milieu même de la guerre qu'ils célèbrent." For the *Cercada tiene á Baeza* he adduces the revised and published opinion of Menéndez Pelayo, supported by documents of the year 1369. From this evidence we see that the *Pero Gil* of the ballad was the nickname applied by Enrique II to Pedro I of Castille, and that the siege of Baeza took place in the year 1368. More striking still is the evidence in support of the historical background for the *Abenamar*-ballad (*Por Guadalquivir arriba*) in which the Christian king, Juan II, pointing to the towers of Granada, asks the Moor Abenamar: "Qué castillos son aquellos?" The historian Hernando de Baeza, who flourished at least a century before Perez de Hita, speaking of those present at the court of Juan II mentions the Moor Abenamar as "aquel á quien dice el romance que preguntó el rey don Juan: *Qué castillos son aquellos?*" Other historical accounts of the reign of Juan II are cited to show that the Abenamar of the ballad is the historical Aben Almao or Aben Alahmar; and archeological and other evidence is furnished to show that there is no anachronism in the ballad reference to the palace of Los Alixares. While Menéndez Pidal does not claim that every *romance fronterizo* is contemporary with the event it relates, he believes that this may be true of the *Ay Dios qué buen cavallero*, and that the hero of the ballad in question is not D. Rodrigo Girón. A most welcome item is the announcement that the edition of the *Cancionero de Amberes* is in press; this edition will include a study of various ballad problems suggested by the text.

El Sacrificio de la Misa por Gonzalo de Berceo, edición de Antonio de Solalinde (Madrid, Residencia de Estudiantes, 1913, 8vo., 66 pp.), presents a paleographic text of this work of Berceo's, together with the essential information in regard to MSS. and previous editions of the poem. The *Sacrificio* is preserved to us in a single incomplete MS. (XIV cent.) of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Solalinde publishes this MS., which includes only stanzas 1–250; he reproduces from Sanchez's edition of the lost Ibarreta MS. the remaining 47 stanzas and the variants of stanzas 1–250. The editor has retained the marking of the caesura as found in the Bibl. Nac. MS., and publishes a facsimile of one page of the text. The work gives every evidence of care and accuracy, and the text forms a reliable basis for a future critical edition. The Sánchez and Janer versions were in sore need of revision, as shown by the many important corrected readings found in this new edition; for example, *antigos*, 34d; *cotidiano*, 95b; *persona*, 158c; *cor*, 164c; *fizioron*, 220c; *cuchiello*, 203c; *festa*, 245d (in rhyme); the accurate reproduction of *ç* and *z*, and of final *d* and *t*; the frequent omission of final *n* in *non* and *nin*. The markings of the caesura furnish additional evidence for the forced caesura, cf. 125c, 122c, etc. Solalinde's text represents Series I, Vol. I, of the "Publicaciones de la Residencia de Estudiantes."

The *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, Tomo I, Cuaderno I (Febrero de 1914) begins life under auspices that will doubtless insure its continuation. This new journal will publish articles and documents in the field of Spanish language and literature. The names of the contributors to the initial number attest, in themselves, to the high standard of the publication: Cotarelo y Mori; R. Menéndez Pidal; D. de Cortázar; Francisco Rodríguez Marín. There will be five numbers a year; subscription 12 pesetas.

Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; publícanlas Rudolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid: Bernardo Rodríguez, 1914). The prospectus of this edition announces that the work will consist of approximately eighteen volumes at 5 pesetas a volume, that the *Galatea* is ready for issue, and that the *Persiles y Segismundo* will follow shortly. The character of this important literary undertaking can best be given in the editors' statement: "In every case the first edition will form the basis of the text, while such variants as occur in other editions, especially those printed in the life-time of Cervantes, will be noted wherever they deserve consideration. Peculiarities of spelling of the author's time will be strictly adhered to; only the punctuation will be modernized, and accents will be very sparingly used in the case of a few words of identical form and of more than one syllable. Such explanatory notes as seem indispensable will be found at the end of each volume." An edition of this character, prepared by such well-known scholars as Professors Schevill and Bonilla, may count on a hearty welcome from students of Spanish literature.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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SOME RELATED POEMS OF WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE

Professor Legouis in his *Early Life of Wordsworth* has pointed out that Coleridge's unfinished poem *The Three Graves* is closely related in subject to *The Ancient Mariner* and to *Goody Blake and Harry Gill.* He says of the poem, "The fundamental idea was the same [as that of *The Ancient Mariner*]; that of the desolation wrought by a curse in a terror-stricken heart." And after discussing *The Three Graves* he continues, "Finally Wordsworth determined that he would himself give concrete form to the idea of a curse. He found a subject ready to his hand in a scientific work, Darwin's *Zoonomia.* This was the story of *Goody Blake and Harry Gill.*"

I should like to carry the discussion further, by attempting to show that *The Three Graves* is related not only to *Goody Blake,* but in still more important ways to Wordsworth's *Thorn,* and that *The Thorn* and a related piece, *The Danish Boy,* may be regarded as progressive steps toward the composition of *Hart-Leap Well,* Wordsworth's final imaginative treatment of the curse.

I

By Coleridge's own account *The Three Graves* was composed somewhat more than twelve months before September, 1809, that is, in the summer of 1797 or a little earlier. Dykes Campbell points out that the scenery of the poem is that of Stowey and Alfoxden. In other words, it dates from the period in which Coleridge and Wordsworth were in almost daily companionship, closely united by their common aspirations, and even attempting to write in collaboration, as in the case of *The Wanderings of Cain* and *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner.*

The subject of *The Three Graves* was supplied by Wordsworth, as he informed Barron Field: "I gave him the subject of his Three Graves, but he made it too shocking and painful, and not sufficiently softened by any healing views." Wordsworth's statement that he furnished the subject is of course not to be questioned. Rather, as in the case of his statements regarding his contributions to *The Ancient Mariner,* it is to be taken as revealing far less than might be claimed for him. It is true that in the long discussion prefixed to *The Three Graves* in *The Friend* and in *Sibylline Leaves* Coleridge says nothing of any obligation to Wordsworth, but it is also true that he makes only the slightest admission of his obligations to Wordsworth in planning and composing *The Ancient Mariner.* Coleridge sometimes was reluctant to acknowledge his indebtedness to others. He does, however, explain his reasons for choosing the story for poetic treatment, namely, "from finding in it a striking proof of the possible effect on the imagination, from an idea violently and suddenly impressed on it. I had been reading Bryan Edwards's account of the effects of the *Oby* witchcraft on the Negroes in the West Indies, and Hearne's deeply interesting anecdotes of similar workings on the imagination of the Copper Indians . . . ; and I conceived the design of showing that instances of this kind are not peculiar to savage or barbarous tribes, and of illustrating the mode in which the mind is affected in these cases, and the progress and symptoms of the morbid action on the fancy from the beginning."

The reader who turns to Bryan Edwards (1793) and to Hearne (1795) will indeed find curious instances of Jamaica negroes and Hudson Bay Indians losing heart, pining away, and dying on learning that a spell had been put upon them by a reputed wizard, in one case, Hearne himself. This is the entire extent of their relation to *The Three Graves.* It is to be noted that Hearne's *Account of a Journey . . . to the North-west* is the book in which Wordsworth found the suggestion of his *Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman* (1798). Wordsworth's wide reading in books of travel

suggests that as in the case of Shelvocke's *Voyage,* the book may have been known to himself before it was known to Coleridge.

The features which *The Three Graves* shares with *The Ancient Mariner* are features which that poem owes to Wordsworth, namely, the idea of a curse as the fundamental motive, and the incidental connection with a book of travel in remote regions. It has still closer affinities to *Goody Blake and Harry Gill,* for, as Coleridge informs the reader, it is founded upon an actual incident of rustic life in England, "of no very distant date," and it has to do with the fulfilment, under superstitious fear, of a vengeance invoked in the form of a curse.

Goody Blake and Harry Gill is customarily assigned to 1798, the year of its publication. But Wordsworth himself (in the Fenwick note) says only, "Written at Alfoxden." The internal evidence indicates that it was very likely the earliest written of all the poems under consideration. The story is told directly, by the poet himself, without shifting the responsibility for the marvelous upon a superstitious narrator, invented *ad hoc,* as is done in *The Three Graves* and *The Thorn,* and the "curse" is a malediction arising from a sense of personal injury and literally fulfilled, a notion more primitive and less artistic than the feeling of mysterious retribution which appears in *The Thorn, The Danish Boy,* and *Hart-Leap Well.* The poem must almost certainly be earlier than *The Three Graves* and *The Thorn,* and may have been written not in 1798 but in the previous year.

That *The Three Graves* owes to Wordsworth more than its mere subject is suggested by a comparison with *The Thorn,* apparently begun March 19, 1798, and published in the *Lyrical Ballads.* In this village tragedy there is no explicit curse, but Martha Ray and the scene of her supposed crime both seem to be affected by mysterious powers. Deserted by the lover who has promised to marry her, she at first goes mad. Then, as in the case of Ruth, her senses return. Day and night she haunts a spot upon a mountain, near a thorn, a heap of moss-covered earth, and a pond. The village folk believe that she has murdered her child and buried it beneath the hill of moss. Mysterious signs are said to point to her guilt. In a note published in 1800, Wordsworth discusses at some length the form into which he has thrown the story. It is supposed to be related by a man "credulous, talkative, and superstitious," such a man, for example, as the captain of a small trading vessel, a man past middle age, retired upon a small income to a village or country town of which he is not a native. "It appeared proper to me to select a character like this to exhibit some of the general laws by which superstition acts upon the mind." In *The Three Graves* Coleridge adopts a similar device: "The tale is supposed to be narrated by an old Sexton in a country church-yard." In both poems the speaker is an old man, garrulous, superstitious, and of humble station. Moreover, the poems begin in similar fashion. In each case the point of departure is a thorn-tree, of peculiar appearance, standing near a supposed grave or a group of graves:

> There is a Thorn—it looks so old,
> In truth, you'd find it hard to say
> How it could ever have been young,
> It looks so old and grey.
> Not higher than a two years' child
> It stands erect, this aged Thorn;
> No leaves it has, no prickly points;
> It is a mass of knotted joints,
> A wretched thing forlorn.
> It stands erect, and like a stone
> With lichens it is overgrown.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And, close beside this aged Thorn,
> There is a fresh and lovely sight,
> A beauteous heap, a hill of moss,
> Just half a foot in height.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This heap of earth o'ergrown with moss,
> Which close beside the Thorn you see,
> So fresh in all its beauteous dyes,
> Is like an infant's grave in size,
> As like as like can be;
> But never, never anywhere
> An infant's grave was half so fair.

The Three Graves begins,

> Beneath this thorn when I was young,
> This thorn that blooms so sweet,
> We loved to stretch our lazy limbs
> In summer's noon-tide heat.

And hither too the old man came,
The maiden and her feer,
Then tell me, Sexton, tell me why
The toad has harbour here.

The thorn is neither dry nor dead
But still it blossoms sweet;
Then tell me why all round its roots
The doek and nettle meet.
. . . . . .
Why these three graves all side by side
Beneath the flow'ry thorn,
Streteh out their lengths so green and dark,
By any foot unworn.

In both poems, also, the narrators represent objects as moving mysteriously under supernatural influence:

And Mary on the bridal-bed
Her mother's curse has heard;
And while the eruel mother spake
The bed beneath her stirred.

That is, it seemed to rock, as if the house, or perhaps the very earth, were shaking. A similar marvel is related in *The Thorn:*

And some had sworn an oath that she
Should be to public justiee brought;
And for the little infant's bones
With spades they would have sought.
But instantly the hill of moss
Before their eyes began to stir!
And, for full fifty yards around,
The grass—it shook upon the ground!
Yet all do still aver
The little Babe lies buried there,
Beneath that hill of moss so fair.

Both poems, in keeping with the nature of the supposed speaker, are frequently homely in their diction. *The Thorn* originally contained the lines,

I've measured it from side to side;
'T is three feet long, and two feet wide.

The Three Graves also contains passages which remind one more strongly of what Wordsworth said in the *Advertisement* to the *Lyrical Ballads* of the language of conversation in the middle and lower classes than of Coleridge's habitual diction:

Oh, Ellen was a faithful friend,
More dear than any sister,
As eheerful too as singing lark;
And she ne'er left them till 't was dark,
And then they always missed her.
. . . . . .
Our late old viear, a kind man,
Onee, Sir, he said to me,
He wished that serviee was clean out
Of our good liturgy.

It is not too much to say that *The Three Graves* not only owes its subject to Wordsworth, but in its general character and in its execution presents much that is characteristic of the Wordsworth of 1797–1798. These features point not merely to a general Wordsworthian "influence," but to specific suggestions from Wordsworth in planning the poem, or to the adaptation of processes and details from *The Thorn.* The latter supposition conflicts with the dates as given by Coleridge and by Dorothy Wordsworth, but *The Three Graves* may have been begun later than Coleridge afterwards believed, and even *The Thorn* may have been planned and partly composed before the date on which Dorothy records the writing of the opening stanzas. Perhaps the hypothesis which best accounts for the relation between the two poems is this. Wordsworth supplied Coleridge with the subject of *The Three Graves* and with definite suggestions for its treatment. He subsequently learned that Coleridge felt himself unable to complete the poem, and had virtually abandoned it. Coleridge indeed may have so informed him. He thereupon made use himself, not of the subject which he had furnished to Coleridge, but of the incidental means of treating it which he had provided. He thus made effective use of his ideas, and at the same time satisfied himself of their soundness and value.

II

The Thorn is a powerful and a skilfully composed poem. The figure of the desolate outcast,

known to every star
And every wind that blows,

stirs the imagination and haunts the memory. Ominous hints in the opening stanzas prepare the reader for the mystery and terror to be developed later. In a letter to Sir George Beaumont, May 1, 1805, Wordsworth wrote, "The poem is a favourite with me." And in the last book of *The Prelude,* recalling the happy period of his residence at Alfoxden, he speaks of the summer when Coleridge was wont to chant

> the vision of that Ancient Man,
> The bright-eyed Mariner, and rueful woes
> Didst utter of the Lady Christabel;
> And I, associate with such labour, steeped
> In soft forgetfulness the livelong hours,
> Murmuring of him who, joyous hap, was found
> After the perils of his moonlight ride,
> Near the loud waterfall; or her who sate
> In misery near the miserable Thorn.

None the less *The Thorn* has never found great favor with readers. The garrulity and the homely diction of the supposed speaker, especially as they appeared in the earliest version of the poem, are a handicap, and further the piece is open to the same objection which Wordsworth raised to *The Three Graves:* it is "too shocking and painful, and not sufficiently softened by any healing views."

Mr. Nowell Smith calls attention, in a note in his edition of the *Poems,* to the close relation between *The Thorn* and the fragment of *The Danish Boy,* composed in 1799. The stanzas are identical, except that the first and third lines have now been made to rime. Only seven stanzas were published, and of these the next to the last was never reprinted by the poet after 1800. In a smooth and open dell there stands a tempest-stricken, blasted tree, and by it a corner-stone, last remnant of a lonely hut. The spot is shunned by beast, bird, and bee, for here sits and sings the spirit of a Danish boy. The omitted stanza is especially reminiscent of *The Thorn:*

> When near this blasted tree you pass,
> Two sods are plainly to be seen
> Close at its root, and each with grass
> Is covered fresh and green.
> Like turf upon a new-made grave
> These two green sods together lie,
> Nor heat, nor cold, nor rain, nor wind,
> Can these two sods together bind,
> Nor sun, nor earth, nor sky;
> But side by side the two are laid
> As if just sever'd by the spade.

Wordsworth explained in 1827 that the poem was to have related "the story of a Danish Prince who had fled from Battle, and, for the sake of the valuables about him, was murdered by the Inhabitant of a Cottage in which he had taken refuge. The House fell under a curse, and the Spirit of the Youth, it was believed, haunted the Valley where the crime had been committed." The idea of a curse, that is, still appears, but has been transferred from the offender to the scene of the evil deed. And in the slow process of time the curse has been partially lifted; the haunting spirit is a thing not of terror but of beauty, and the haunted spot is "sacred to flowerets of the hills." Wordsworth was apparently on his way to composing a poem which in feeling and in artistic treatment would have been a much more faithful expression of his spirit than were *Goody Blake* and *The Thorn,* but the poem was laid aside, perhaps because in *Hart-Leap Well* he found a subject that enabled him to give final and perfect form to the conceptions which he had been seeking to express.

In December, 1799, on a journey with his sister, Wordsworth passed a spring about five miles from Richmond in Yorkshire. A peasant whom they met near the spot told them the name of the spring, Hart-Leap Well, and the story of the death of the hart, and pointed out the three pillars said to commemorate the leaps of the hart. A few weeks later he wrote his poem, published in the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads.* In the final arrangement of his poems he significantly placed *Hart-Leap Well* immediately after *The Thorn.* In this poem, again, there is no uttered curse, but the desolateness of the scene is interpreted by the shepherd as a curse laid upon the spot by Nature in penalty for the crime of cruelty:

> "A jolly place," said he, "in time of old;
> But something ails it now; the spot is curst."

The thorn-tree reappears. The actual tree by the spring is said to be a lime-tree, but Wordsworth changes it to a thorn. The waters of the spring tremble with the last breath of the hart as in *The Thorn* the creeping breeze causes the waters of the little pond to stir, and in the belief of the shepherd,

> oftentimes, when all are fast asleep,
> This water doth send forth a dolorous groan.

The grey-headed shepherd, needless to say, takes the place of the old sexton in *The Three Graves,* and of the sea-captain, past middle age, "credulous and prone to superstition," of *The Thorn.* The poem is recognizably a companion piece to these, with resemblance both in content and in plan.

Hart-Leap Well, however, departs from *The Thorn* and *The Three Graves* in important particulars. The moving accident, Wordsworth has come to feel, is not his trade, and the curse is not an act of human hatred, something "shocking and painful," but a slow manifestation of Nature's displeasure, a symbol rather than an act of vengeance. Moreover, it is "softened by healing views":

> She leaves these objects to a slow decay,
> That what we are, and have been, may be known;
> But at the coming of the milder day
> These monuments shall all be overgrown.

The great drawback of the old captain and the old sexton had been their prosiness. The combination of superstition and realism had seemed to require that the stories of *The Thorn* and *The Three Graves* should be told by elderly, credulous, and commonplace persons, fated to garrulity and involving danger to serious interest. In *Hart-Leap Well* this difficulty is overcome by a simple device. In the first part the narrative is given by the poet himself. It is in the second part that he explains how he had heard it:

> The Shepherd stopped, and that same story told
> Which in my former rhyme I have rehearsed.

Then follow the shepherd's comments. Thus the literal facts and the legend which has sprung from them are kept distinct. The shepherd, thus managed, has all the advantages, and more, of the sexton and the sea-captain, with none of their disadvantages. Thus in form of presentation, no less than in subject and conception, *Hart-Leap Well* appears as the final product of an evolution of which the successive steps had been *Goody Blake and Harry Gill,* Wordsworth's share in *The Three Graves, The Thorn,* and *The Danish Boy.*

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FURTHER NOTES ON CLASSIC LITERARY TRADITION

I

In an article which appeared in the December (1912) number of *Modern Language Notes* I called attention to traces in French and German literature of the Middle Ages of a well-defined literary tradition which owed its origin to Greek literature, especially that of the Alexandrian period, and much of its vitality to the fact that it had found lodgment in the rhetorical schools. This tradition, I have also tried to show,[1] can be traced down through Latin, early French, and Italian literature to the literature of modern times, and I should like to add a few more examples to those which I have already adduced as evidence of its persistence.

This tradition manifests itself most clearly in erotic poetry and romance,—in the literature which deals with love, its nature and its effects. The history of some of the commonplaces employed to describe these effects I have given in the article referred to above, but much more can still be written on this phase of the subject. In order to keep within bounds in the matter of examples, I shall content myself with citing those only which seem to me to illustrate best the continuity of tradition from

[1] Cf. *Am. Jour. of Philology,* XXXIV, 1913, pp. 125 sq.

Greek literature down to Shakespeare, although it does not end with him. I shall not, moreover, make the attempt, except rarely, to trace direct borrowing from one writer by another, for there was, I believe, less conscious borrowing than one might suppose; indeed, the presence of some of these commonplaces in certain departments of literature, the sonnet sequences, for example, is almost as characteristic as the form.

In both ancient and modern literature the favorite figure employed to describe the effect of love is that which likens it to a flame which burns the lover's heart. This conceit is too common to need remark, but there are two other conceits, closely allied to this, and perhaps derived from it, which are not as common, but of which the origin and descent can be unmistakably traced. According to one, the lover's heart is burned to ashes by the fierceness of love's flame, or, after his love, for one reason or another, is over, there is in his breast, where once was raging fire, merely a heap of ashes. According to the other, love, especially concealed love, is a spark which smoulders beneath ashes, ready to break out into open flame.

In the English sonnet sequences these conceits are conspicuous by their absence. The first occurs in Drayton, *Idea,* XL: "My eyes with tears against the fire striving, / Whose scorching gleed my heart to cinders turneth;" Spenser, *Am.,* XXXII: "Yet cannot all these flames, in which I fry, / Her hart more harde then yron soft a whit;—What then remaines but I to ashes burne, / And she to stones at length all frosen turne?" Cf. Wyatt (Aldine Ed.), p. 100: "For to the flame wherewith ye burn, / My thought and my desire, / When into ashes it should turn / my heart by fervent fire, / Ye send a stormy rain / That doth it quench again." I have noticed no example of either of these conceits in the sonnets of Constable, Daniels, Barnes, Watson, Sidney, but the last-named employs both in the *Arcadia;* cf. I, p. 139 (ed. London, 1725): Dorus sings, "My earthly mould doth melt in wat'ry tears, / And they again resolve / To air of sighs, sighs, to the heart fire turn, / Which doth to ashes burn;" for the other, cf. Bk. II, p. 202, where Pamela tells her sister of her love for Musiodorus: "But how much more I found reason to like him, the more I set all the strength of mine to suppress it, or at least to conceal it. Indeed I must confess that—the cold ashes laid upon my fire did not take the nature of fire from it." There are several examples of both conceits in the works of Lyly; cf. *Euphues* (ed. Arber), p. 52: "Euphues at the first sight was so kindled with desire, that almost he was like to burn to coales;" *ib.,* p. 117: "Cover thy flaming fancie with fained ashes;" cf. *Euphues and his England,* p. 299; *Galathea,* IV, 2. Elaborate examples of both forms are supplied by Gascoigne in his *Dan Bartholmewe of Bathe* (ed. Hazlitt), p. 120: "And in my nights, I feele the secrete fire, / Which close in embers, coucheth like a cole; / And in the daye hath been but raked up, / With covering ashes of my company, / Now breakes it out;" *ib.,* p. 122: "Thus I can neyther drowne in dole, / Nor burne to ashes though I waste, / Mine eyes can neyther quench the cole, / which warms my heart in all this haste;" *ib.,* p. 126, Dan, after he has recovered from his "furies": "I feele the flame which blazed in my breast / Is now with carefull ashes overspread." We may place by the side of these examples the following passages from Shakespeare in which he makes effective use of these conceits: *K. H. VI,* Pt. I, III, 1, 190: "This late dissension grown betwixt the peers / Burns under feignèd ashes of forg'd love, / And will at last break out into a flame;" *Two Gent.,* I, 2, 30, Julia: "His little speaking shows his love but small." Lucetta: "Fire that's closest kept burns most of all." *Much Ado,* III, 1, 77: "Therefore let Benedick, like cover'd fire, / Consume away in sighs, waste inwardly." With the second passage, cf. Lyly, *Euphues,* p. 63: "The fire kept close burneth most furious." Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure,* II, 19, 21, enlarges on this text which he may have taken from Chaucer, *T. and C.,* II, 536: "This is the worste, I dar me not bi-wryen; / And wel the hotter been the gledes rede, / That men hem wryen with asshen pale and dede." In the *Reeve's*

Prol., 28, Chaucer applies the conceit to the passions of old men whose "gras-tyme is doon," "whan," in the words of the old Reeve, "we may not doon, than wol we speke; / Yet in our asshen olde is fyr y-reke."

There is nothing in Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, Chaucer's source for *T. and C.*, which could have suggested the passage quoted. Remembering, however, that in I, 400 sq. Troilus complains of the effects of love in words which Chaucer translated from Petrarch, *Son*, CII, it does not seem improbable that Petrarch was also the source of this complaint. The latter does not, however, employ this conceit exactly in this way. In *Canz.* XIII, he uses it as Chaucer does in the *Reeve's Prol.*: "Quel foco ch'io pensai che fosse spento / Dal freddo tempo e dall' età men fresca, / Fiamma e martir nell'anima rinfresca, / Non fur mai tutte spente, a quel ch' i veggio, / Ma ricoperte alquanto le faville: / E temo, nò 'l secondo error fia peggio." In *Canz.* XXXV, the form is that which we have met in Lyly and Shakespeare: "Chiusa fiamma è più ardente, e se pur cresce / In alcun modo più non può celarsi." These lines, I may note, bear a close resemblance to Ovid, *M.*, IV, 64, of the love of Pyramus and Thisbe: quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis. From Ovid drew, beyond a doubt, Mantuanus, *Ecl.*, VII, 81: occultus longe magis aestuat ignis.[2] Those who like to run down definite sources may decide to which one of these three Guarini was indebted, *Pastor Fido*, I, 2, 27 sq., where Ergasto, the companion of Mirtillo, who loves Amarilli with a secret affection, tells him that love is a cruel torture at best, "ma più, quanto è più chiusa," and adds, "Già non dovevi sì lungamente / Celarmi la cagion della tua fiamma, / Se la fiamma celar non mi potevi; / Quante volte l'ho detto: arde Mirtillo, / Ma in chiuso foco ci si consuma e tace." In the poetry of Petrarch's predecessors the only example of either conceit which I have noted occurs in a sonnet of Gervasio Ricobaldo, Poeti[3] II, p. 246: "Ed oltre uno quadrello, ancora accende / La facella di tal cocente ardore / Ch'ogni momento in cener mi fa il core;" cf. *id.*, II, p. 247. Different from all these is the turn which Tasso, *Rime*, I, CXL, gives to this conceit; he is explaining why beauty has not the power to inflame his heart: "Nè già son io gelido marmo e saldo; / Ma consomato in altra fiamma il core, / Or, che cenere è tutto, arder non puote." Perhaps this idea was suggested to him by an epigram of Meleager, Anth. Pal., XII, 48, where the poet informs Love that it is vain for him to cast his flaming torches into his breast; no longer can he set it in flames for it is all ashes: *πᾶσα γάρ ἐστι τέφρη*. Cf. further, Tasso, *Rime*, I, CCXXIV: "Chè scorgo appresso il foco, ovunque io guardo, / Che già diffuse sua beltà fra noi, / E le ceneri altrui d'intorno sparte."

With the French sonnetteers these conceits met with much favor. Cf. Ronsard, *Les Am.*, I, *Son.* CLXXIX: "En me brulant, il fault que je me taise, / Car d'autant plus qu'esteindre je me veux, / Plus le desir me rallume les feux, / Qui languissoient sous une morte braise." Baïf, *Am. Diverses*, II (ed. B. de Fouquières, p. 184): "Mais avec ton flambeau que penses-tu pretendre, / O Venus, sur mon cœur en poudre consumé, / Si tu n'as entrepris de brusler une cendre?" (Cf. Meleager, cited above); *id.*, p. 105. Jodelle, *Vers d'Amours*, V: "C'est qu'il veult celer / Ce flambeau trop ardent qui le feroit bruler.—Il se peut garantir pour ung temps seullement, / Mais avant peu de jours son feu trop vehement / Sortira de son cueur en plus grand abondance: / Comme un brazier qu'on veult soubz la cendre amortir / Prend lentement rigueur, puis il vient à sortir / Ardent et enflamme de sa vive puissance;" cf. *id. Autres Son.* III; Eleg. II: "En toy—j'ay veu un changement si bizarre et muable / Que de ton feu premier je n'ay point apperçeu / Rien que la cendre morte en la place du feu." Desportes, *El.*, I, XIX, Dis-

[2] Cf. Mustard's note for echoes of this line. This idea of the fierce burning of concealed love is expressed somewhat differently by Lydgate, *Temple of Glas*, 362: "That hotter brenne that closid is my wounde;" cf. Schick's note for other examples (*Early English Text Society*, Extra Series LX).

[3] *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Valeriani, Firenze, 1816.

cours: "Et tandis mon desir croissoit par la contrainte, / Ainsi que le brazier sous la cendre caché." In *Cleon., Son.* LIII, he introduces both conceits: "Enfin l'Amour cruel à tel point m'a rangé / Que ma triste dépoüille en cendre est convertie;—Beuvez le peu de cendre en quoy je suis changé, / Le soif de me tuer s'éteindra dans vostre ame, / Et ma cendre, qui couve une éternelle flame, / Fera que vos glaçons se fondront tout soudain." The conceit appears in French literature as early as Chrétien, who, in his description of the efforts which Soredamour and Alexander make to conceal their love, says, *Er. et En.*, 602 sq.: "einçois dure la chalors plus / dessoz la çandre que dessus;" cf. id. *Yvain*, 6760: "toz jorz mes el cors me covast / si com li feus cove au la cendre, / ce dont ge ne voel ori apprendre."

The former passage may have been suggested to Chrétien by Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 80. The poet is describing the meeting between Jason and Medea who tries to conceal her love and to fight against it just as Soredamour does; the situation is, therefore, very similar. Medea has made up her mind to leave Jason to his fate, but when she sees Jason again, "extincta—flamma reluxit.—Utque solet ventis alimenta assumere, quaeque / parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla / crescere et in veteres agitata resurgere vires, / Sic jam lentus amor, iam quem languere putares, / ut vidit iuvenem, specie praesentis inarsit." It may be noted that the words 'scintilla,' 'favilla,' furnished a ready rime for the poets of the Middle Ages; cf. *Carm. Bur.*, CXXXVII, 3: amoris transitio—cor cremat scintilla / quam si non extinxeris / cor erit favilla; ib. CXVIII, 5: "ardoris scintilla / devolans ab illa—cor meum ignivit, / quod cor fit favilla." Ovid himself, however, does not employ this form of the conceit; the other examples which he gives us relate to the death of love; thus Hero writes to Leander, *Ep.*, XVIII, 94: "Dummodo sis idem, dum sic, ut scribis, amemur, / flammaque non fiat frigidus illa cinis;" cf. *Rem. Am.*, 244, in his advice to a lover how to overcome his love: "lentus abesto, / dum perdat vires sitque sine igne cinis." Similarly, in *A. A.*, II, 435 sq., he compares the incentive to jealousy which, he says, is necessary when the course of love is running too smoothly, to the sulphur that is added to a heap of ashes beneath which a spark still lies hidden. In no other Latin poet of the best period, so far as I have noticed, is this figure used of the effects of love. Lucretius, on the other hand, employs it in his discussion of sleep, IV, 907 sq., to illustrate his argument that sleep is due to the passage from the body of some part of the soul, for, he asks, were no part of the soul left behind in the limbs, as fire remains concealed when covered with much ash, whence could sense be suddenly rekindled through the limbs, as flame can spring up from a hidden flame?—a passage closely imitated by Lactant. *Opif.*, XVIII, 4. In Seneca, *Troad.*, 553 sq., Ulysses, when he seeks out the son of Hector in order to slay him, gives as his reason the fear that the Greeks have that he may turn out to be another Hector: "sic male relictus igne de magno cinis vires resumit."

The history of these conceits in Greek literature is interesting because it illustrates how the writers of the Alexandrian period formed their stock of erotic commonplaces out of material which they found in the works of their predecessors. In Hom. *Od.*, V, 488 sq., when Odysseus is cast upon the shore of Scheria, he makes himself a bed of leaves, lies down in the midst of them, and heaps over him the fallen leaves; "And as a man hides away a brand in the black ashes,—a man who has no neighbors, and so saves the seed of fire that he may not have to seek a light elsewhere, so did Odysseus cover himself with leaves." Cf. the use of this figure in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 237 sq. This comparison was in the mind of Apollonius of Rhodes, when, *Arg.*, III, 290 sq., he wished to describe the effect upon Medea of her meeting with Jason after Love had shot her with his flaming arrow: "As the woman who spins for daily hire heaps dry twigs upon a burning brand that haply, when arising quickly in the night, she may have fire ready in the house, and the blaze, kindled mightily from the little brand, burns

the dry twigs to ashes, so did pitiless Love, hidden in her breast, burn secretly." Both of our conceits are implicit in this comparison, and the fact that Ovid employs one of them in his version of the Medea story, *Met.*, VII, 80, cited above, points to this passage as his source. The idea that fire may be hidden beneath ashes occurs, however, in an epigram of Callimachus, another Alexandrian poet, *Ep.* XLV (=*A. P.* XII, 139). He addresses a certain Menexenos and tells him that he is afraid that he may by stealth cast love into his heart, for after all there is some fire there hidden beneath the ashes. This epigram is clearly the source of Meleager, *A. P.* XII, 80, who begs Love not to disturb the fire still burning beneath the ashes, and of the unknown author of *A. P.* XII, 79, who writes that a certain Antipatros had again made him love, and kindled a fire from cold ashes. Cf. also, Meleager, *A. P.* XII, 82, 92. The words of Callimachus, *πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ* sound like a proverb, and the Greeks did say to one who had undertaken any hazardous task, *ἐν πυρὶ βέβηκας*, (cf. Suidas, s. v.); so Horace, *O.* II, 1, 6 sq.: Periculosae plenum opus aleae / Tractas et incedis per ignes / suppositos cineri doloso; cf. *Prop.*, I, 5, 5. The modern Italian proverb which is applied to a dangerous situation is closer to the Greek form as given by Callimachus: "Sotto la bianca cenere sta la brace ardente."[4]

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ROMEO, ROSALINE, AND JULIET

Though I believe the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* does not help us materially toward determining what portions of the play may have belonged to an earlier writing of it, I am wholly in accord with the general feeling that some of the lines are eminently characteristic of the 1591 period. In making a fresh attempt to discover how Shakespeare may have altered the play in 1597 or thereabouts, I have found what seems to me a clue in the first passage which is distinctly in the earlier manner. This is, of course, the latter part of the opening scene,—the dialogue between Romeo and Benvolio. This of itself is a separable scene, and it has all the artificiality and youthfulness of *Love's Labour's Lost.* Now when Romeo says, line 169,

> Here's much to do with hate, but more with love,

and then proceeds with his series of Euphuistic contrasts, he is, of course, as Clarke points out, referring to the fact that Rosaline is Capulet's niece; and, as the same writer says, "This is one of the subtle indications given by Shakespeare that Romeo is not really in love with Rosaline." So Hudson: "Such an affected way of speaking not unaptly shows the state of Romeo's mind; his love is rather self-generated than inspired by any object. As compared with his style of speech after meeting with Juliet, it serves to mark the difference between *being love-sick* and *being in love.*"

But, as I have said, this entire passage belongs to the 1591 period, unless, indeed (of which there is no real probability), Shakespeare wrote the whole of this and certain other passages in direct imitation of his earlier style. Now it is more than passing strange if, when this speech was first written, the sharp contrasts that Romeo makes were not occasioned by the conflict between his family's hatred of the Capulets and his own love for Juliet. That the family feud was not a sufficient obstacle in the case of Capulet's niece is evidenced by Romeo's instant realization of a wholly new type of obstacle when he finds himself in love with Capulet's daughter. Rosaline's own disfavor was all that stood in the way of his earlier passion. Judged by the standards of any expression of love which Shakespeare gives us up to and including *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Romeo's love for Rosaline is neither artificial nor insincere. It is because we must perforce contrast it with his love for Juliet that we condemn it as frivolous or unworthy.

When in 1597 Shakespeare took in hand his early drama, or fragment, of *Romeo and Juliet,*

[4] Cf. Giusti, *Raccolta di Proverbi Toscani*, p. 23.

and began to build it up into the beautiful tragedy that we have, I think he was able to preserve very little of the earlier work. The scene in question was one that he chose to keep. But before long he discovered that none of his boyhood's love poetry was adequate to the passion which he was now portraying. Rather than throw it all away, he hit upon the excellent device of inventing[1] a former love, a Rosaline; and the contrast of Romeo's love for Rosaline and his love for Juliet is simply the contrast of Shakespeare's ability to represent love in 1591 and 1597.[2] By the rather slim and otherwise needless expedient of making Rosaline a niece of Capulet he saved the situation and gave Romeo a better excuse than a mere boyish prank in going to the banquet.[3] It is odd that this Montague should have loved *two* members of the Capulet family!

Shakespeare may have taken the name Rosaline from the association it had in his mind with the sort of love poetry he first wrote, without knowing that he was just about to give a hasty revision, or expansion rather, to *Love's Labour's Lost* itself.[4] Or, as seems to me more probable, Capulet's letter mentioning "my fair niece Rosaline" among the invited guests might have been in the earlier writing and suggested both the name and the relationship for the revision. This list of people to be rounded up by a servant, including "beauteous sisters" and "lovely nieces," certainly seems youthful, even if in verse. Delius' suggestion that Romeo fills in the epithets ill accords with his not knowing whose the letter is when he reads it. If he had been in love with Rosaline at this time he would have known whose fair niece she was,—or else no "brawling love" in the previous passage.

In I, ii, 83 f., which must, according to this analysis, belong to the revision, in answer to Benvolio's

> Compare her face with some that I shall show,
> And I will make thee think thy swan a crow,

Romeo answers:

> When the devout religion of mine eye
> Maintains such falsehood, then turn tears to fires!
> And those who, often drowned, could never die,
> Transparent heretics, be burnt for liars!
> One fairer than my love! the all-seeing sun
> Ne'er saw her match since first the world begun.

I do not see any intention on Shakespeare's part to make this an expression of "puppy love," though he continues the riming vein of his earlier work.[5] This speech seems to me to show in rather strong contrast to his attitude in I, i, 207:

> Nor ope her lap to saint-seducing gold.

But are we to believe that Shakespeare had no wiser intention in introducing the Rosaline episode than to make use of old material? I do not feel that this follows from my argument. If Shakespeare at thirty-three were himself deeply in love—and I believe that nobody but a lover could have written *Romeo and*

[1] That the Rosaline episode (though without any mention of the lady's name) occurs both in Brooke and Painter is an argument against my theory. I am not disposed to make light of this objection because it goes against my thesis. If, however, Shakespeare made use of the Rosaline incident in his first writing of the play, that does not mean that he would not have relegated to the new Rosaline Romeo's former ecstasy over the old Juliet.

[2] Just where the couplets end in this scene, a bit of the revision seems to be inserted. Here Benvolio suggests the theme of the later drama, that Romeo should "examine other beauties," to which he recurs on their next entrance. Benvolio is then in possession of the fact that Rosaline is Romeo's love. It seems odd that the fact was not more formally introduced in the first scene. Perhaps the fact that it was Juliet *was* so introduced. Juliet's instant yielding to the power of love belongs nearer to the time of *As You Like It* than to that of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

[3] If anything corresponding to this scene existed in the original version. I can find no trace in it of early work.

[4] Certainly he would not have chosen the name of his previous heroine to give to a discredited love in 1591.

[5] Both here and in the revision of *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakespeare joins his new material to his old by an easy indulgence in quatrains and couplets which may perhaps be due to his sonnet-writing habit at this time. But it is notable that in neither case does he take over the characterizations of the earlier work.

Juliet [6]—he had no wish to portray a man's final love as a first love, nor had he any reason for trying to make the completeness of one depend upon the unreality of the other. Shakespeare was never a sentimentalist of this sort. The passage I have just quoted shows that in revising the play he still did not discredit Romeo's love for Rosaline. I believe that this should be taken into account in our study of this play, and that much of the critical comment on the Rosaline episode in *Romeo and Juliet* has been due to a pious attempt to realize a significance that isn't there.

Another point of interest upon which some light may be thrown by this double date of composition is that of Juliet's age. However much we may emphasize the Italian maturity of this very English-like girl, or the Elizabethan way of applying positive decrepitude to what seems to us the prime of life, there is still a disparity between the psychology and the mathematics of this drama.

The references to Juliet's age come in the second and third scenes of act I. Of scene ii, only lines 1–5, 44–55, and 79–98 seem to me to belong to the revision; [7] and unless Shakespeare amplified the Nurse's part, adding, perhaps, the contradictory elements in her long "earthquake" speech, scene iii must have been in the original drama. In lines 72, 73 of this scene Lady Capulet says,

> I was your mother much upon these years
> That you are now a maid:

that is to say, Lady Capulet is not yet twenty-eight. Juliet's father, however, in a 1597 passage (I, v, 30 f.), says in a little colloquy with his cousin:

> How long is it since last yourself and I
> Were in a mask?
> *Second Cap.*—By'r Lady, thirty years.
> *Capulet.*—What, man! 'tis not so much, 'tis not so much;
> 'Tis since the nuptial of Lucentio,
> Come Pentecost as quickly as it will,
> Some five and twenty years; and then we mask'd.
> *Second Cap.*—'Tis more, 'tis more; his son is elder, sir;
> His son is thirty.

Capulet, according to this, has some real age to him! I admit that no Logic will recognize a formula for ascertaining Juliet's age by showing that her mother was young in one version and her father was old in the other! And yet I think that something really is indicated by this striking change in Shakespeare's attitude. I do not believe that he would by any means have made Juliet so excessively young and Capulet so conspicuously old in the same writing of the play. If we contrast the fussy, tyrannical Capulet, whom we become so well acquainted with and whose age is so clearly hinted in the passage I have just quoted, as it is also at his first entrance by Lady Capulet's

> A crutch, a crutch! Why call you for a sword?

with the 1591 Capulet of I, ii, 6–37, I think it is not over-straining the matter to recognize an essential difference in his age, as well as in his later impetuosity and his early reluctance regarding Juliet's marriage to the County Paris.

My point is this: if in rewriting this play Shakespeare pushed forward the elder Capulets from early middle life to actual old age, it is no longer incumbent upon us to judge Juliet's obvious maturity throughout most of the play by the scant allowance of years given to her in the earlier writing of the drama. It may seem to the critical mind of to-day that having preserved his "She hath not seen the change of fourteen years," Shakespeare would feel himself still bound to maintain a fundamental consistency with this idea, or else that he would have changed the line. But, as I believe I have discovered in a more elaborate study of *Love's Labour's Lost*, this is just exactly what Shakespeare did not do. In revis-

[6] I am discussing this aspect of the matter in a paper on the dating of the Sonnets, not yet completed.

[7] It may be hypercritical to indicate so slight an exception as lines 14, 15 which seem to interrupt the early couplets with a touch of deeper emotion. One cannot fail to note how the rime percentage is lessened by removing the 1591 portions.

ing a play he apparently did not attempt to recall his earlier inspiration, but simply reconceived and recreated his characters. A narrow consistency was never a hobgoblin of his liberal mind. Juliet is still girlish in 1597, but she is no longer a child of thirteen.

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AMERICAN BIRDS AND TWO GERMAN POETS

One of the latest German poets to travel in America agrees with one of the earliest about the well-known and notorious fact that there are no song-birds in America, at least in the spring time. Among a people whose faith in the poets is still great, the case is thereby proved, for they can now quote Gerhart Hauptmann along with Nicolaus Lenau.

Lenau was one of the first, if not the very first, of the line of German authors to seek new literary impressions (and money) in America, and that too at a time when interest in America first began to make itself felt in German literature. His experiences and disillusionment are well known. Equally well known in Germany is his statement regarding the lack of song-birds in America. "Einmal hat Lenau durch die schwarze Schilderung eines Landes, das er nicht kannte und nicht kennen wollte, mehr denn irgend ein anderer die fast fünfzig Jahre festgehaltenen Missbegriffe über Amerika verbreiten helfen. Alles plapperte ihm nach, dass in Amerika die Vögel nicht sängen, die Blumen nicht dufteten,[1] etc." I myself heard the statement made not long ago by the descendant of a poet who was one of Lenau's contemporaries.

Let us hear again Lenau's evidence:

"Den 8. Oktober betrat ich den amerikanischen Boden zum ersten Male. Unser Schiff lag noch in der Chesapeake Bay, an welcher Baltimore, unser Landungsplatz, liegt. . . . Man kredenzte uns sofort Cider (ich mag den Namen des matten Gesöffs nicht mit deutschen Buchstaben schreiben), Butter und Brot. Letztere waren gut; aber der Cider (sprich: Seider) reimt sich auf: 'leider.' Der Amerikaner hat keinen Wein, keine Nachtigall. Mag er bei einem Glase Cider seine Spottdrossel behorchen, mit seinen Dollars in der Tasche, ich setze mich lieber zum Deutschen und höre bei seinem Wein die liebe Nachtigall, wenn auch die Tasche ärmer ist. . . . Die Nachtigall hat Recht, dass sie bei diesen Wichten nicht einkehrt. Das scheint mir von ernster, tiefer Bedeutung zu sein, dass Amerika gar keine Nachtigall hat. Es kommt mir vor wie ein poetischer Fluch."[2]

"Wie mir Amerika gefällt?—Fürs Erste: rauhes Klima. Heute ist der 5. März und ich sitze am Kamine; draussen liegt fusstiefer Schnee. . . . Fürs Zweite: rauhe Menschen. Ihre Rauheit ist aber nicht die Rauheit wilder kräftiger Naturen, nein es ist eine zahme, und darum doppelt widerlich. . . . Die Natur ist hier entsetzlich matt. Hier gibt es, wie Sie wissen, keine Nachtigall, überhaupt keine wahren Singvögel. Der Natur wird es hier nie so wohl ums Herz, oder so weh, dass sie singen müsste."[3]

Gerhart Hauptmann probably had heard of Lenau's experiences, and was one of those whose impressions of America were early colored by Lenau's judgment. Nearly twenty years after he himself had been in America, he gives us his impressions in *Atlantis*.[4] We read in this novel of experiences similar to those of Lenau. The hero, Friedrich, goes in the middle of winter to Meriden, Connecticut, falls ill in March and is nursed back to health by his friend Miss Eva Burns.

"Erst am Ende der zweiten Woche, gegen den sechsundzwanzigsten März, ward er fieberfrei. . . . Zu Ende der dritten oder Anfang der vierten Woche [therefore about April 4th] seit Beginn der Krankheit erhielt Miss Eva Burns einen Dankesbrief von dem General [Friedrich's father]. . . . Der Schnee war geschmolzen, langsam, langsam fand sich Fried-

[1] Mulfinger "Lenau in Amerika," *Americana Germanica*, Vol. I, No. 3 (1897), p. 1.

[2] Brief an Schurz aus Baltimore. Schurz, *Lenaus Leben*, Stuttgart, 1855, I, 198 f.

[3] Brief an Emilie Reinbeck, 5. März 1833.

[4] For the personal and self-experienced in *Atlantis*, see the article by Tombo in *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1913.

rich wieder ins Leben hinein. Es war eine Sanftheit in ihm und ebenso draussen in der Natur, die ihm eine liebe Erfahrung war. . . . Ein Gewitter war reinigend aus Schwefelwolken herabgefahren und grollte nur noch leise und, auf Nimmerwiederkehr vorüber, am fernen Horizonte hin. . . . 'Es ist schade, dass keine Vögel singen,' erklärte eines Tages [therefore well on toward the middle of April] Friedrich. 'Ja,' sagte Miss Eva Burns, die das Mansardfenster geöffnet hatte, 'das ist schade!' 'Denn,' fuhr Friedrich fort, 'Sie sagen ja doch, dass es draussen um den Hanoversee [the house in which Friedrich lies ill is situated on the edge of the lake some distance from the town of Meriden] schon grünelt!' 'Was heisst das "grünelt"' ? fragte Miss Eva Burns. Friedrich lachte. Darauf sagte er ruhig: 'Der Frühling kommt! Und ein Frühling ohne Vogelmusik ist ein taubstummer Frühling.'" [5]

In view of the repetition in 1912 of the first statement of the impression of 1833, the coincidence of experience and length of the sojourn of the two poets in America may be of interest. Lenau landed at Baltimore on the 8th of October, 1832, crossed the Alleghanies to New Economy in Pennsylvania, and went from there in the dead of winter to take possession of the land he had purchased in Ohio. Returning to New Economy about the end of February, he started from there on March 15th for New York City by way of Niagara and Albany, sailing for home the first week in May. Hauptmann arrived in New York in the autumn of 1893. He proceeded to Meriden on February 4th, 1894, and lived with a friend, making various trips to Hartford, Springfield, New York and Washington, and sailing back to Germany on May 3d.

At this point it is difficult to decide whether (as Mulfinger has done in the case of Lenau) to call attention to the fact that at the time these two poets were in America (except for the latter part of their stay), getting their impressions of songless birds and other American crudities, they would hardly have found the birds singing in Hungary, Swabia or Silesia; or to point out the fact that (except after unusually hard winters) in the neighborhood of New York in an ordinary spring, birds are to be heard singing from the middle of April, or even earlier. Certainly our poets, unless deaf or too closely engrossed in New York City life, could have heard such early and common songsters as our robins, bluebirds, wrens, song-sparrows and meadow-larks, and perhaps even the cardinal-grosbeak. If Lenau did, he ignored the fact and let the impression of October and early March stand. It is difficult to say whether Hauptmann is relying on literature or mere fancy.

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[5] *Atlantis*, p. 341 ff.

Tristan and Isolt, a Study of the Sources of the Romance. By GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE. Frankfurt a. M., Baer & Co.; London, Nutt, 1913. 1 vol. in 2 parts, xiv + 1–266 and 267–590 pp. Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs (New York University), No. 6–7.

Even before the appearance of Bédier's edition [1] of Thomas's *Tristan* there had been a tendency among students of the Tristan legend to regard all the principal versions of this story as derivatives of a lost French metrical romance, but it was Bédier who established the fact conclusively.[2] It was natural, however, that, whilst accepting his general result, scholars should have differed with him on some points of importance in regard to the affiliation of the existing versions and consequently in regard to the reconstruction of their lost common source. Furthermore, Bédier minimizes the Celtic element in the famous legend. Now, whatever may be one's conclusions on this

[1] Paris, 1902–5, published (in 2 vols.) for the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

[2] Bédier, II, 313, may be going too far when he derives from this lost romance not only all the principal versions but all versions whatever. In my own judgment he is right, but Miss Schoepperle (pp. 8 f.) is inclined to except the continuation of Béroul and the prose *Tristan*.

aspect of the Tristan romances, it is evident that the French scholar had not made the necessary researches in the extant saga material of the Celts to determine this question with the accuracy that is desirable. To the discussion of all these matters—and some others, besides—the treatise before us is a contribution of the highest value.

In the discussion of sources the first task is to fix the character of the lost French romance from which the principal versions (Béroul, the *Tristrant* of Eilhart von Oberge, and Thomas), to say nothing of the *Folie Tristan,* are descended. In Miss Schoepperle's opinion Eilhart von Oberge represents "more accurately than any reconstruction that has been made, and more faithfully than any other version (except perhaps the fragment of Béroul)" this lost romance—the *estoire,* as, following her example, we shall call it.[3] Accordingly, in the third section of her work she endeavors to establish this view by subjecting to a critical examination Bédier's reconstruction of the lost source. Like Zenker, Kelemina, and Muret before her,[4] she rejects his table of concordances as proving nothing, so that in her criticism of his reconstruction of the archetype it is with the "Discussions" in his Second Volume that she deals. The main difference between her stemma of the versions and Bédier's is that she would eliminate the secondary (common) source for Béroul and Eilhart (Bédier's *y*), which the latter postulates, and derive these two versions directly and independently from the archetype (the *estoire*).[5] It was the difference of conception concerning the duration of the efficacy of the love-potion which appears in the different versions that led Bédier to postulate the secondary source just mentioned. In Béroul the influence of the potion is limited to three years.[6] In Eilhart von Oberge it suffers a certain diminution in its efficacy at the end of four years.[7] In Thomas[8] and the Prose Romance[9] there is no diminution in its influence up to the end. The conception in the two versions last named is plainly more primitive, and this fact, no doubt, induced Bédier to accept it as belonging to the archetype and to regard Béroul and Eilhart in this point as secondary. But inasmuch as Béroul and Eilhart are, neither of them, derived the one from the other, it became necessary to postulate for them a common (lost) source, intermediate between them and the archetype. According to Bédier the motive which led the author or redactor of this common source (the *y* of his scheme) to modify the primitive conception as to the unlimited efficacy of the love-potion was as follows: Observing the prolonged periods of separation of the lovers in the latter part of the romance, he introduced the idea which we find in Eilhart that the influence of the potion abated after four years. He did this in order to make their passion appear "more spontaneous, more voluntary, more human."[10] Béroul, according to this interpretation, is less faithful than Eilhart to their common source.

The difference of conception which we are here dealing with gives a different conclusion to the forest-episode in the Béroul-Eilhart and Thomas versions, respectively. According to Thomas, when[11] Mark discovered the lovers sleeping side by side in their cave but with a sword between them, he was convinced by this circumstance of their innocence and summoned them back to court in terms of friendship. After their return, however, Tristan and Isolt

[3] W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 103, had already expressed the opinion that Eilhart was essentially identical with the lost source (*Ur-Tristan,* as he calls it): "Eilhart der nicht erheblich vom ursprünglichen Gedicht sich entfernte und darum im ganzen und einzelnen mit ihm übereinstimmt." See, too, p. 112.

[4] See the references which she gives, p. 71, note 6.

[5] Golther had expressed the same views as Miss Schoepperle with regard to the relations of these versions to the archetype. See his *Tristan und Isolde,* p. 59, Cp. too, Muret, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur,* XXXVII, 171 (1911).

[6] See E. Muret's edition of Béroul's *Tristan,* ll. 2133 ff. Paris, 1903 (Société des Anciens Textes Français).

[7] Cp. F. Lichtenstein's edition of Eilhart's *Tristrant,* ll. 2279 ff. Strassburg, 1877 (Quellen und Forschungen XIX).

[8] Bédier, I, 142.

[9] Bédier, II, 340 f.

[10] Bédier, II, 239.

[11] Bédier, I, 241 ff.

renew their intrigue, and the king, led by the dwarf, catches them together again in a garden—asleep but clasped in mutual embraces. Tristan wakes just in time to see that they have been detected, bids farewell to Isolt and makes his escape across the seas to Brittany, where he meets Isolt of Brittany. On the other hand, Isolt of Cornwall persuades Mark that his eyes have deceived him as to the scene in the garden and is restored to favor. In Béroul and Eilhart [12] we have the same scene of Mark's discovering the lovers in the forest. Moreover, in these poems he draws the same inference from the sword as to their innocence. But all this has no influence on the subsequent narrative. The king exchanges rings with Isolt, takes Tristan's sword and leaves his own behind—consequently, when the lovers awake they know that they have been discovered and they fly still further from the court. In the course of time, however, as stated above, in these versions the influence of the potion diminishes, the lovers confess to a hermit in the forest, Ogrin (Ugrim) by name, and, exhorted and advised by him, Tristan conveys a letter to Mark in which he declares that he will restore Isolt to him (and, Béroul adds, will defend her chastity in single combat against all comers). The king takes her back but refuses to allow Tristan to remain in his dominions. The latter, then, goes over to Brittany.

It is Miss Schoepperle's contention (pp. 75–84) that in these features of the narrative as elsewhere Eilhart and Béroul represent the *estoire* more accurately than Thomas. The abatement of the influence of the love-potion and the part played by the hermit were accordingly in the *estoire,* she maintains, and Thomas suppressed these features, because they did not harmonize with his ideal of love (the *amour courtois*). Having suppressed them, however, he had to supply a new motive for Tristan's exile and consequently he invented the garden scene which is peculiar to his version.

Miss Schoepperle's argument on this point is certainly a very able one and she may very well have hit the truth of the matter. For my own part, however, I still find it hard to accept this reconstruction of the *estoire.* It is evident on the face of it that the limited efficacy of the love-potion and the part played by the hermit represents a degradation of some earlier version in which no limit of time was set to the magical influence that bound the lovers together. The only point is at what stage in the tradition did the degradation take place. According to Miss Schoepperle (p. 445), in the original Tristan legend (a Celtic elopement story) the king lured the lovers back from the forest merely for the purpose of killing the hero, which he does. The story, however, was so popular that a French poet decided to prolong the hero's life.[13] Accordingly he brought the lovers back safely to Mark's court and gave a continuation to the original story, this continuation consisting of a series of adventures, returns and secret visits of the outlawed Tristan, the story of the second Isolt, etc. This first (hypothetical) French version which she calls B she assumes (p. 446) to have been the source of the *estoire.*

Now, in the Celtic parallels (cp. pp. 401 ff.) it is a love-spot and a *geis* (taboo) that bind the lovers together. The tales do not mention a love-potion and they contain no one pivotal scene like that of the Tristan romances when Tristan and Isolt on the ship drain the fatal draught together. Is it likely then that a French poet with such a story before him would have sprung at once from the *geis* conception to the degraded *motif* of a love-drink that is in full operation for only four years, coupled with the other commonplace *motif* (which is out of harmony with the whole spirit of the story) of Tristan's taking the momentous step of returning Isolt to her husband on the advice of a priest who has heard their confession? To me, at least, this appears very improbable.

[12] Béroul, ll. 1981 ff., and Eilhart, ll. 4617 ff.

[13] H. Suchier, too, had supposed that the story originally ended with the return from the forest and that the versions which vary from this point on were due to different continuations. Cp. H. Suchier and A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur,* I, 116.

The B version, whether a regular metrical romance or merely a loose oral narrative (in prose) of shifting form, must have ascribed, I should say, a lasting influence to the potion. But if the B version put no limit on the efficacy of the potion and the same thing is true of Thomas, is it likely that the version which transmitted the story from the one to the other—viz., the *estoire*—was different from these versions? Is it not more natural to suppose that the variation of Eilhart and Béroul here is due to a secondary source? The *Folie Tristan* of the Berne MS. points also to the existence of such a secondary source; for that poem, though so closely allied with Béroul, contains allusions to adventures which are not found in the latter.[14] It seems to me, too, that a secondary source gives the most likely explanation of the introduction of Arthur and his knights into Béroul and Eilhart. On the other hand, I do not believe that the author of this secondary source in changing the narrative as to the efficacy of the love-potion was influenced by the motive which Bédier ascribes to him, viz., the desire to make the passion of the lovers "more spontaneous, more voluntary, more human." In my judgment, he is simply offering an awkward explanation of why in the latter part of the romance the lovers endure such long periods of separation.

I have dwelt at, perhaps, inordinate length on the classification of the versions for the reason that this is the main point on which I find myself in disagreement with Miss Schoepperle. As a matter of fact, her discussion of this subject (including her analysis of Eilhart's *Tristrant*) occupies hardly one-fifth of her whole book. Even more important are the questions of the date of the *estoire* and its debt to Celtic sources. To these questions and to that of the element of general popular tradition in the *estoire* the remainder of her treatise is devoted.

As regards the date of the *estoire*, Miss Schoepperle (pp. 112 ff.) comes to the conclusion, justly, in my opinion, that the *estoire* was composed in the second half of the twelfth century,[15] not in the first half, as Bédier[16] and Golther[17] would have us believe. She first shows that there is no reason for accepting 1154 as the date of the lyric by Bernart de Ventadour which gave these writers their *terminus ad quem* for the *estoire*. Moreover, she urges rightly against Bédier that we should determine the date of this archetype not by the *most* primitive traits but by the *least* primitive traits that it contains. Owing, then, to the spirit of the *amour courtois* that colored it and to the connection of certain of its episodes with the *pastourelles* and *chansons de mal mariée* she concludes that the *estoire* belonged to the second half of the century—indeed, to its later decades. She does not observe, however, that this conclusion has an important bearing on the old debate as to the date of the first Arthurian romances, or, in one of its forms, whether there were Arthurian romances before Chrétien de Troyes; for the strongest single argument for the existence of such romances was what seemed the assured fact of the exist-

[14] Bédier concludes reasonably from these circumstances that the author of this *Folie Tristan* followed "un roman aujourd'hui perdu, apparenté, mais non identique à celui de Béroul." See his *Les deux poèmes de la Folie Tristan*, pp. 82 f., Paris, 1907 (Société des Anciens Textes Français).

Miss Schoepperle, like Bédier, II, 259 ff., and W. Golther, pp. 51, 153, though for different reasons, attributes to Thomas the invention of the *vergier* scene. She regards it (p. 80) as a variant of the forest discovery scene. It seems to me, however, to have been inspired by some tale akin to those that are so numerous in the Orient, of a woman who is caught in a garden sleeping with her lover, but by an ingenious trick satisfies her husband that she is guiltless. Cp. J. J. Meyer's *Isolde's Gottesurteil in seiner erotischen Bedeutung*, pp. 129 ff., Berlin, 1914. Thomas evidently had an original of some sort for this episode in which the dwarf played a part, for in his narrative Mark leaves this dwarf behind to keep an eye on the lovers whilst he goes to fetch witnesses, but nothing more is heard of him (the dwarf).

[15] Wendelin Foerster, p. lxvi of his small *Cligès*, 3d edition (Halle, 1910), had already put it after 1150, but he presents no elaborate argument on the subject.

[16] II, 154.

[17] Pp. 69 ff.

ence of an early Tristan romance. One may say, perhaps, that there still remains Miss Schoepperle's hypothetical B-version (Wendelin Foerster's "Ur-Urtristan"), but even granting that this was a regular metrical romance there is no reason that compels us to put it much earlier than the *estoire*.[18]

Space fails us to consider in detail the section on the elements of general popular tradition in the *estoire* and its narrative technique. Suffice it to say that we have here the fullest and most careful discussion of these matters that has yet appeared. Of special value is the final division of the treatise which deals with the relation of the *estoire* to Celtic tradition. Miss Schoepperle has made a thorough examination of the great body of Celtic saga-material (mainly Irish, of course) for parallels to the Tristan story and she presents here the results of her researches. Having read the materials which she has collected on the subject, we may differ with her as to the extent of the debt of the French poets to Celtic tradition, but she has put us in a position to form a judgment on the subject as no one else has. It is her conclusion that a Celtic *Aithed* (elopement story), similar to the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne,* formed the starting-point of the Tristan legend. She does not appear to have observed that the late J. F. Campbell had already remarked on the identity of the Tristan legend with the Celtic saga just named.[19] The story of Tristan's youth, his quest of a bride for his uncle together with the marriage, and the whole episode of Iseult of Brittany she regards as additions of the French poets, who drew on popular tradition (Celtic, in part) for their incidents.[20] The sum and substance of it is, to employ Miss Schoepperle's own words (p. 400): "The Celtic tradition of Tristan was modified by the French poets almost beyond recognition, and brought into conformity with French customs and French habits of thought." A comparison of the French romances with the texts which she gives proves to my mind, at least, that Celtic tradition furnished the French writers merely with the suggestion of the love-story[21] and its forest setting and possibly with one or two other incidents besides. The power of the story in the French romances, however, is due to the initial scene of Tristan and Isolt's love with its definite symbolism that dominates the rest of the narrative, to the elaboration of the forest scenes, to the true and vivid picture of the passion that constantly draws the hero back to the heroine, contrary to the obligations of kinship and personal loyalty and despite every variety of obstacle, not permitting him to forget her even in the embraces of another woman. Now, the corresponding Celtic texts such as *The Reproach of Diarmaid*[22] have their own beauty, but one has only to read them to see that the French romances are essentially a new creation.[23] The same remark, I believe, applies in even fuller measure to the romances of Chrétien de Troyes.

Miss Schoepperle makes no attempt to deal with the problem as to what part of the Celtic

[18] Is there any real ground for the assumption of "toute une première floraison de poèmes arthuriens" (Bédier, II, 154) between 1066 and Chrétien's appearance? The arguments for this assumption are crumbling one by one. Miss Schoepperle has, without observing it, taken away the argument from the early *Tristan*. The figures on the Modena cathedral have turned out to be not so ancient as was once supposed. The Arthurian names in Italy have not the importance that was ascribed to them (cp. E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois*, pp. 395 ff.). There only remain the Arthurian names in the *Erec*, 1691 ff., 1934 ff., but these may have been taken from popular tales.

[19] Cp. his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, IV, p. 240 (4 vols., London, 1890–1893).

[20] Miss Schoepperle has performed a notable service in eliminating from the problem of Tristan origins what has been commonly regarded as an Old Norse element—viz., the island-combat between Tristan and the Morholt. She proves (pp. 338 ff.) that this is merely "a stereotyped incident of mediaeval French literature."

[21] I do not see any evidence, however, that the moral conflict in the Celtic original was very strongly emphasized.

[22] Translated by J. H. Lloyd, O. J. Bergin, and G. Schoepperle, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, pp. 54 ff. (1912).

[23] Instructive on the relations between the French romances and their Celtic sources are J. Loth's remarks, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIV, 386–395 (1913).

world gave birth to the legend of Tristan and Isolt. Moreover, she purposely leaves out of her discussion the meagre Welsh materials relating to the story, since they are vague, of uncertain date and of doubtful authenticity (p. 2, note 1).[24] On the whole, this procedure is to be commended although the obscure fragments of the Black Book of Carmarthen which J. Loth [25] assigns confidently to the first half of the twelfth century are somewhat disquieting, for they seem to include (in a variant form) features which even Miss Schoepperle does not ascribe to Celtic tradition. Yet the period just mentioned would be too early for the influence of a French romance.

It will be observed that Miss Schoepperle's treatise marks a real advance in our knowledge of the evolution of this famous legend. Indeed, unless new Celtic material by some chance should come to light, I do not believe that we shall ever be in a position to see much further into the matters which she treats of in this volume. Possibly, a closer study of the subject may define more clearly the nature and scope of what she calls the B-version. I should also like to see the literature of French folk-tales ransacked for Tristan *motifs* with the same thoroughness that is here applied to the Celtic materials. Experience has shown that many of the most important *motifs* which students of Arthurian sources are accustomed to accept without question as specifically Celtic are found in the oral traditions of other people as well. Illuminating on this point is Hans Siuts's *Jenseitsmotive im deutschen Volks-märchen* (Leipzig, 1911)—all the more so as the author seems unaware of the prevalence of the same *motifs* in Celtic lands.

In taking leave of this excellent book I wish to commend especially the clear and orderly way in which the evidence is marshalled and the discussion conducted. The usual bane of investigation into the history of stories is the want of all sense of proportion that commonly afflicts the authors of such works. Neither writer nor reader can see clearly through the forest of minutiae. Moreover, a capacity for detecting resemblances between tales where resemblance there is none is also frequent with such investigators. From both of these faults Miss Schoepperle's work is conspicuously free.[26]

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[24] To those which she cites add now the *Ystoria Tristan*, printed and discussed by J. Loth, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIV, 365 ff. (1913). Cp. too, his paper in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Bulletin de Mars-Avril*, 1913, pp. 92 ff.

[25] See his *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, pp. 113 ff. (Paris, 1912).

[26] Mention should be made of the five elaborate appendices which are added to the work. 1. The value of the extant redactions of Eilhart von Oberge's *Tristrant* as representing the *estoire*. 2. Points in which M. Bédier's reconstruction differs from the version of Eilhart. 3. The problem of the second Isolt. 4. The harp and the rote. 5. Tragic love stories in Irish literature (extracts from texts). An Index nominum and an Index rerum end the book.

Schiller, die Geschichte seines Lebens von Alexander von Gleichen-Russwurm. Stuttgart, Verlag Julius Hoffmann, 1913. 556 pp. with 52 illustrations.

The discriminating spirit and the judicial poise which have characterized Schiller criticism since the centenary of the poet's death in 1905 are two of the healthiest signs in the domain of contemporary German letters. To be sure all the Schillerophobes have not yet been silenced. Eugen Dühring—in *Moderne Grössen* —still continues to launch his diatribes against the poet and Otto Böthlingk—in his *Schiller und Shakespeare,* 1910—has "out-Ludwiged" Otto Ludwig in demonstrating all that the English dramatist was and the German dramatist was not. Nevertheless the marked tendency, so prominent among scholars and critics during the preceding decades, to magnify Goethe at the expense of Schiller is gradually dying out. The ugly outbursts of such one-sided Goethophiles as Herman Grimm and Nietzsche, as well as the half-hearted extenuations of Schiller's apologists, have given way to a real de-

sire, on the part of the present generation, to know more about the man, to assume a just attitude toward his works and to ascertain his true worth as a factor in German and European culture. In a word, Schiller's works are undergoing a re-evaluation in the estimation of scholars and critics and it is edifying to note that, as a fully authorized poet of the first rank, he has won back his place alongside of Goethe.

If Schiller's poetry can no longer be to the German people what it was at the hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1859: the embodiment of their unfulfilled longings for national freedom, unity and greatness, the present generation has at least learned that little of positive value can be gained by comparing Schiller with either Shakespeare or Goethe. To set forth elaboratcly what qualities a poet has not and to ignore those he has proves little. For the fact stands indubitably fast that Schiller is still the undisputed king of the German stage. To dominate the stage of a highly cultivated nation uninterruptedly for over a century in spite of the establishment of a new political and national order, in spite of all the revolutions in thought brought forth by the nineteenth century and in spite of all its changes of taste and literary fashion is an achievement without parallel in the history of the drama and justifies the poet's right to be regarded as the creator of the German national drama in grand style. Clearly recognizing the permanence of Schiller's performances, discerning scholars of the twentieth century are now ready to treat of the poet in a spirit of just discrimination with neither the lukewarm extenuation of apologists, nor the polemic heat of antagonists. But their theme is no longer Schiller the poet of freedom and humanity, the embodiment of national aspirations, but Schiller, "the poet and thinker, the teacher of a harmonious humanity, the man of mighty enthusiasms, of iron industry and of unswerving loyalty to ideals."

Nowhere has this judicial spirit manifested itself to greater advantage than in the noteworthy biographies of the poet which have appeared since the year 1905.[1] First and foremost among these must be mentioned the brilliant production of Karl Berger: *Schiller, sein Leben und seine Werke,*[2] the first completed biography written in recent years and a worthy companion piece to Bielschowsky's *Goethe.* In scholarly thoroughness, clearness of presentation and ease of style Berger's two stout volumes easily surpass all previous biographies. It is a work written by a kindred spirit, *con amore.* Warm sympathy for his hero can be felt on every page. That there is room for a different conception of the poet goes without saying and in no way invalidates the excellence of the author's achievement. For scholars and students Berger's work must now be regarded as the Schiller biography *par excellence,* particularly in view of the fact that the great lives of the poet planned and begun in the eighties and nineties by Weltrich, Brahm and Minor have all been destined to remain torsoes. It will be a long time before Berger's work will be superseded and the wonder is that some one has not already translated it into the English tongue.

Far more original and of much more direct service in interpreting Schiller's message to modern men is the illuminating biography by Eugen Kühnemann.[3] This work lays the chief stress on other things than the circumstances of the poet's life, only a brief resumé of important biographical facts being given in each chapter. The author's chief aim is to furnish an adequate account of the literary, the critical, the philosophical, the aesthetic and the ethical aspects of Schiller's person and life-work from a distinctly modern and a distinctly philosophical point of view. Kühnemann, as is well known, is a deep student of the artistic, the moral and the social problems of our own time.

[1] For a good account of the Schiller festival of 1905 as well as of the Schiller literature that has since appeared, see E. C. Roedder, *Pädagogische Monatshefte,* May and June, 1906, and April, May and June, 1913.

[2] München, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Vol. I (1st edition), 1904; Vol. II, 1909.

[3] *Schiller,* München, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1st edition, 1905; 3d, 1908.

In this work he has found a new place for Schiller in the comparative history of literature, he has given us the best exposition that we possess of the poet's philosophy of life and he has shown the abiding significance of that philosophy and of the ideals which inspired the great leaders of German classical literature. In a word, Schiller is represented here in the largest perspective and his life-work is measured by a standard entirely new. This book is of particular interest to English-speaking lovers of literature for it has already been translated,[4] and its influence should go far to correct the rather cavalier, not to say flippant tone of the earlier chapters in Thomas's life of the poet, as well as the more painstaking efforts of Robertson—in his *Schiller after a Century*—to demonstrate the futility of Schiller's attempt to embody the Teutonic genius in a Latin form.

In Berger's biography the life and works of Schiller are treated as an indissoluble unity in the conception as well as in the presentation. Kühnemann subordinates the story of the poet's life to the deeper and larger interest in the evolution of his powers, his ideas and his poetry. The latest life of the poet, by his great-grandson, Alexander von Gleichen-Russwurm, is, as the title implies, a biography in the strictest sense of the word: the history of the development of a great personality. In direct contrast to Kühnemann's account, all else here is subordinated to the man, in the conviction that among all the works of Schiller, the greatest was his own life. As the author himself says in his introduction, quoting in part the words of his great ancestor: "All that the poet can give us is his individuality. This must therefore be worth exhibiting before the world and afterworld. But where do we see this individuality more clearly and more plastically than in a story of his life in which 'a genius unconstrainedly come into the closest contact with the conditions and relations of reality in order to conquer them and to make them obedient to his higher end'?"

Fully conscious that Schiller's significance for the nineteenth century and his influence on the intellectual development of the present are fundamentally different from each other, the author is convinced that they both flow from the same fundamental condition, from the fact that out of his own life the poet consciously strove to make a work of art. By interpreting the supreme law of his philosophy as the co-operation of all his powers, he directed his activity toward the harmonious development of the whole man and gave to beauty, as the indispensable rhythm of existence, the controlling voice. In this application of culture and education to the totality of man's moral and intellectual being the author finds Schiller's chief message for our own age, a time when the fear of becoming *dilettants* prevents us from becoming men of open eyes and open hearts, and the fear of leaving some corner of our specialty unexplored causes us to lose the large view of life which alone can lend harmony to our existence and to our activity. If beauty is to mean more than the artistic disguise of misery, care and deformity, if individual liberty is to mean not unrestraint, disorder, anarchy but a conscious self-adjustment to a harmonious order and to a sense of due measure, then we must follow affectionately the simple story of the poet's life which, after more than a century, still shows the spiritually liberated man how out of the petty trials and struggles of everyday life a pure and noble personality can arise.

Schiller's idealistic conception of the world and its reflection in his poetry gives back to the moderns something which they lack, something for which this age with its undue emphasis on specialization unconsciously yearns. For the literature of the present, so far as it is conscious of its great and sacred mission, Schiller thus becomes a mighty ally. The great public is inspired by him to a noble conception of art and to ideal effort, while the spiritually mature find in him the beneficent

[4] *Schiller* by Eugen Kühnemann, translated from the third edition of the German original by Katharine Royce, with an introduction by Josiah Royce. Two volumes. Boston and London, Ginn and Company, 1912.

power of a great and pure human nature. For the poet's view of life embodies the great forward movement of humanity, which stands in harmony with the great course of development in nature. The great world-moving ideas lend to his personality and to his works their peculiar magnetic power, and it is upon the foundation of these great ideas that the more glorious structure of the future must be reared.

In the conviction then that Schiller's greatest artistic achievement was his own personality, his great-grandson has told us the simple and uneventful story of his life. With warm sympathy and deep psychological penetration, he has showed us how, from the narrow surroundings of his birth, his great grandsire, as the conscious and free architect of his own life, rises to that commanding position which, superior to enmity and adulation, challenges the interest and recognition of all cultured men and which teaches us, whatever our condition, to overcome suffering and to awaken joy.

While the author has added to this biography some unprinted passages from letters in the family archives and has adorned his work with several hitherto unpublished reproductions from the Schiller museum in Castle Greiffenstein—the author's family seat—yet the chief value of this life does not consist in the new material which it offers. That is not sufficient to change our conception of the poet and his life-work. At most it can throw additional light on his relations to his immediate circle of friends and acquaintances. The chief value of the work consists in the manner in which the author has performed his task. For in almost every chapter is manifested the noble self-effacement, the calm equipoise of spirit and the largeness of view which characterize the true classic.

In his account of Schiller's school days in Ludwigsburg and Stuttgart the author entirely refrains from the usual condescending tone toward the petty tyrannies of Duke Karl Eugen for, as an acute observer of manners and morals, he recognizes that that despot in his scheme of education was seeking to counteract some of the real errors in the teachings of the French philosophers. With great delicacy of feeling he has traced Schiller's love affairs and with warm sympathy the intimate friendships of the poet. In treating the relations of Goethe and Schiller the biographer makes no apologies for his ancestor and indulges in no reflections upon Goethe, but clearly and without bias sets forth what were the real differences between the men and traces the course of events which, in due time, were to lead to complete understanding and to mutual co-operation in behalf of a great ideal. And the influence of this ideal on the characters of the men themselves, in contrast to that of romanticism upon its advocates, is the chief concern of the author. In no book, in short, is the reader brought into such intimate human, personal touch with the poet as here, and all is told in a fluent, transparent, noble style which everywhere bespeaks the man of fine feeling as well as of fine thinking.

Alexander von Gleichen-Russwurm's biography will not take the place of Berger's life in the estimation of students and scholars. It makes no pretense to deal with Schiller in a new spirit from a new point of view as Kühnemann's work does. It is more than questionable whether it can supplant such popular lives of the poet as those of Palleske and Albert Ludwig. It is too distinguished in conception and style for that. But in presenting Schiller's personality so clearly and nobly to modern readers it forms a worthy and necessary complement to the works of Berger and Kühnemann, and in an age like our own which is pinning its hope of salvation on the social legislation of the future, it is both refreshing and edifying to be reminded by the simple story of a great man's life that reform, like charity, begins at home and that each of us, amid all the demands for social service, has still a worthy and noble task in working for the development of his own personality.

The illustrations of this book are entirely in good taste and serve to bring the reader into closer touch with the personages among whom Schiller lived and wrought. At the end the author has added a useful chronological list of

the poet's writings which appeared during his lifetime and a second list of works, correspondence, biographies, etc., which have appeared since his death. While laying no claim to completeness this forms a valuable guide for the general reader to the Schiller literature of the century. The book is further provided with an index of names.

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Castelvetro's Theory of Poetry, by H. B. CHARLTON. Manchester, University Press, 1913. 8vo., xv + 221 pp.

It is gratifying to point out that the first impression one receives on opening this volume is not wholly borne out by an entire reading. The preface notes the lack of a "book that deals with *Castelvetro* fully and individually." It takes some time to realize that the author has no intention of filling that gap. He has not been interested in Castelvetro's personality or biography. So with Muratori's old article before him, he found it unnecessary to consult Cavazzuti's *L. Castelvetro* (Modena, 1903) of which he by chance had heard and the older studies of Vivaldi and Capasso, which it would seem he did not know.[1] Much less did he go back to Sandonnini's biography of Bologna, 1882 and to that of Ploncher, Conegliano, 1878. His neglect of these biographical studies is in a sense defensible. But the justification is not so apparent when we pass over to the theoretical field itself. Mr. Charlton does indeed know Spingarn, Saintsbury and Fusco. Some credit, however, was still due to Croce, and it is incredible that the author's interest in Renaissance esthetics should not have brought to his notice Trabalza's *Storia della grammatica italiana* (Milano, 1908), of which one of the specific pretensions was to analyze exhaustively Castelvetro's *Giunte.* It cannot be urged that this philological aspect of Castelvetro is irrelevant to the author's subject, inasmuch as the Aristotelian commentary finds perhaps its most interesting supplement in this grammatical work, for which, as well as for his general subject, Mr. Charlton has still to consult the articles of Bertoni on Barbieri and Castelvetro (Modena, 1905, and in *Giorn. Stor.*). The same deficiency occurs in the treatment of various questions of detail: no comparison of Castelvetro with Lessing, for instance, in regard to the doctrine of *Ut pictura poesis,* should neglect Professor Howard's admirable article of that title in *P.M.L.A.,* 1909.[2]

In one other respect also Mr. Charlton has taken too much for granted. It is a fact patently obvious to any student of Italian culture anterior to the nineteenth century, that, in Italian to a greater extent than in any other modern language, the chaos of philosophical terminology resulting from the break-up of the scholastic categories requires constant watchfulness and ingenuity of criticism. Many Italian terms are constantly recurring in ordinary writing in their technical uses, and conversely the commoner meanings occasionally intrude into otherwise technical discourse. Mr. Charlton shares with a great number of students of Italian excessive negligence of this fact. To cite one or two conspicuous examples: Castelvetro's definition of the function of criticism as "insegnare bene e dirittamente comporre poemi," and as teaching "a comporre convenevolmente o a giudicare dirittamente i poemi composti" (p. 23) does not mean "to compose fittingly and to judge compositions directly," "to teach well and directly to compose poems." Mr. Charlton's confusion of *diritto* with *diretto* is apparent, *diritto* retaining its ordinary sense of 'right.' Castelvetro (p. 17) finds the essence of painting "nell'evidentemente rassomigliare." This statement does not

[1] Vivaldi, *Una polemica del '500,* etc., Napoli, 1891; Capasso, *Note critiche su la polemica tra il Caro e il Castelvetro,* Napoli, 1897, not to mention articles by Cavazzuti and Bertoni in the *Giornale Storico.*

[2] A curious exploitation of this notion appears in a sonnet of Brigida Bianchi, reprinted by Moland, *Molière et la comédie italienne,* Paris, 1867, p. 362:

Poesia è pittura ch'è loquace,
E se pittura è poesia ch'è muta,
Merta fede chi parla e non chi tace.

demonstrate that he would not include painting "amongst the fine arts" nor that "to him its end is photographic reproduction." He is thinking of *evidenza* in its technical sense of 'clarity to the auditor or beholder,' not in the sense of 'precision' or 'completeness.' The treatment of the word *ingegno* is very important since it is constantly associated with the problem of the conscious and unconscious, the intuitional and logical in art. Castelvetro, in the passages quoted (pp. 22, 27, 28, etc.), is using the word accurately in its technical meaning of the faculty which consciously uses means to ends, including what we would now commonly describe as analytic acuteness, or penetration (*aptitudo inquirendi*, says Saint Thomas). In Mr. Charlton's rendering of the word as "genius," the precision of Castelvetro's thought vanishes and with it some of the cogency of Mr. Charlton's exposition. We cite these examples in no carping spirit, but simply to call to Mr. Charlton's attention a problem to which he seems generally indifferent.[3]

The figure of Castelvetro, as we have seen, appears in very definite outlines in the various works which we have cited and which Mr. Charlton neglects. Does this new volume modify the picture in any essential? Surely we have in chapters II–X a sober and acute analysis of the esthetics of Castelvetro's poetics more convenient than the treatises of Spingarn and Croce, more purely expository than that of Fusco, and in completeness equal to Trabalza's outline of the argument of the *Giunta*. Here, already, is sufficient justification for the volume. Perhaps there is no other. In esthetic theory Castelvetro's originality as regards his immediate contemporaries has been pointed out: he was one of the few to propound the hedonistic as opposed to the didactic function of poetry; he had a clearer view of the real intent of Aristotle's *Poetics* than most of his age. In Aristotelian criticism he made the discovery of the two aspects of the term 'imitation' in the *Poetics;* he divined the full import of Aristotle's statement of the relation of poetry to history, of which Aristotle himself was unaware. Some of his textual emendations leave him unequalled in this field down to the time of Butcher. Thus far he figures permanently in the history of scholarship. Spingarn meanwhile has shown his positive influence on a tendency toward retrogression: the development of the dramatic unity of place. It has remained for Croce, and—in spite of Mr. Charlton (p. 173)—for Fusco to show, in the footsteps of Vico and Antonio Conti, the philosophical incoherence of Castelvetro's esthetic system, his obliviousness to the expressive function of art, his bewilderment in dealing with the question of "fantasia" and "verità," his pursuit of subtlety of detail to the sacrifice of fundamental principles, his fluctuating criteria of criticism. On this background assuredly Castelvetro the philologist looms large. Trabalza does not overstate when he says that "for breadth of research and method," Castelvetro is "the most complete grammarian not only of the Sixteenth Century but of the whole period anterior to modern philology" (*op. cit.*, p. 188). He insisted on the phonetic and comparative method in etymology, on the importance of accent; he discovered the principle of analogy in morphology, demonstrated empirically the existence of Vulgar Latin, definitely establishing it as the basis of Romance philology and working out categories of treatment that come down practically unchanged to Diez and Meyer-Lübke. All this in general, quite aside from discoveries of detail.[4]

It results that Castelvetro's significance as a philologist is far preponderant over his value as an esthetician, and in so far as Mr. Charlton, even in his chapter on the biography, has completely ignored this aspect of the subject, he has signally failed to deal with Castelvetro "individually and fully." On the other hand he has rescued several traits of Castelvetro's esthetics well worth stressing. It was worth while to enlarge on Spingarn's passing reference to

[3] This is not meant to apply to literary terminology, where the author treats extensively such words as *verosimile, imitazione*, etc.

[4] Castelvetro's discovery of the etymology of the Romance future was anticipated by the Spaniard Lebrija; but his proof has been improved by the moderns only in abundance of comparative illustration.

the democratic import of Castelvetro's concept of poetry, and to credit the latter warmly with his rejection of the imitation of classic texts; just as it is valuable to have in this detailed exposition the fuller treatment of many points —the theory of *difficulté vaincue,* the dickering with the notion of verisimilitude, various preferences such as of the particular to the universal, etc.—which did not fall within the perspective of Croce and Spingarn.

If, in calling attention to the very real value of chapters II–X, we exclude XI–XII, it was because the latter contain Mr. Charlton's own criticism of Castelvetro. And here we must distinguish. It was surely laudable in the author to be chary of personal dogmatism; yet dogmatism is often, even when mistaken, an incisive weapon of criticism. At any rate, Mr. Charlton's eclecticism is not as yet fully self-conscious. To me it seems that in this matter of esthetics we must either use the category "beauty" or else we must abandon it. There is no middle ground between it and the theory of expression on which to build a composite system. To be sure, on whichever side we stand, we may chance to hit on some specks of truth, and Mr. Charlton, with one leg in each camp, hits on a good many. But after all, every vicious method lives precisely by its virtues. Mr. Charlton, for instance, is willing to meet Castelvetro on the preceptual ground of "beauty." He is willing to refute Aristotle with Ruskin. We find aid to creation, he says, "in the maintenance of a current of ideas" rather than in "a specific technical cyclopaedia." And so far admirable. But again he says: "Nobody believes now, that the poet is just a man as other men. . . . The artist has in him some sparks of divine inspiration . . . and needs somewhat of the gustation of the gods." Is not the one state of mind the satire of the other? They both alternate to a certain extent throughout these chapters.

Mr. Charlton's orientation is in the direction of a scholarship that is fruitful. It still lacks perfection of research method and definiteness of critical aim.

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GOETHE, *WILHELM MEISTERS THEATRALISCHE SENDUNG*

Goethes Werke. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Grossherzogin Sophie von Sachsen, 51. und 52. Band. Weimar, Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1911. iv + 311; iv + 301 pp.

Goethe. Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung. Nach der Schulthess'schen Abschrift herausgegeben von Harry Maync. Stuttgart und Berlin, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1911. xl + 416 pp.

Goethe. Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung. Nach der Schulthess'schen Abschrift zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Harry Maync. Mit fünf Bildnissen und fünf Faksimiles. Stuttgart und Berlin, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1911. 8 + 410 pp.*

When the bulk of Goethe's letters and papers became accessible to scholars upon the death of Walther von Goethe in 1885, it was hoped that the long-lost *Urfaust* and *Urmeister* would again come to light. Neither of these hopes was at that time fulfilled—Goethe had evidently destroyed the earlier manuscripts after the *Faust* and the *Lehrjahre* in their published form had been completed. In the year 1887, however, a copy of the *Urfaust,* made by Fräulein von Göchhausen, was discovered among her papers, and now finally, after the lapse of another quarter of a century, the *Urmeister* comes to light, in a copy made by another friend of Goethe's, Barbara Schulthess of Zurich, and her daughter. Goethe's old habit of allowing unpublished pieces to circulate in manuscript among his friends has also in this case preserved for posterity the original version of one of his masterpieces.

Like the *Urfaust,* the *Urmeister* had lain for a century among family papers, until by chance it was submitted to Gustav Billeter, a Zurich teacher, who discovered its import.[1] Eventu-

* In the following review the above editions are cited, respectively, as (1), (2), and (3).

[1] Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung. Mitteilungen über die wiedergefundene erste Fassung von Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren* von Dr. Gustav Billeter. Zürich, 1910, vii + 127 pp.

ally the manuscript came into the possession of the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv at Weimar. The editorship of the work was entrusted to Harry Mayne, of Bern, and originally the plan was also to have it published in Switzerland. Complications ensued, however, as the Cotta firm, which had published the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* and the *Nachgelassene Werke,* claimed the work by virtue of its right acquired with the *Nachgelassene Werke.* The matter was finally settled by the issue of the three editions above cited, all of which are edited by Mayne. The text of all three editions bears the inscription: "Copyright 1911 by J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger Stuttgart," while the critical apparatus, which is only contained in (1), is copyrighted by the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv.

The bibliophile-edition (3), by express statements in the preface as well as in the title, purports to be the first and original printing of the three editions under consideration. A comparison of the text, however, refutes this statement, which was only intended as a bait for the lover of first editions. To prove this, one need only look up the misprints of the Weimar edition, some 30 in number, cited in the apparatus: approximately a third of these have been corrected in (2) and (3). Several of these, furthermore, are quite unequivocal: on p. 100, 18 of Vol. 51, the MS. has the spelling *Volkans,* for which the editor at first decided to put *Vulcans:* upon second thought, the form *Volcans* was restored, and this spelling is found in (2) and (3), while for (1) it had to be noted in the Errata. Similarly, on p. 39, 14 of Vol. 52, the spelling *di Retti,* as found in the MS., remains in (1), and is accordingly noted in the Errata, while (2) and (3) have the normalized spelling *de Retti.*

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the text of the Weimar edition was *printed* first, even though the bibliophile-edition may have been *published* first. Whether (2) was printed before or after (3) is impossible to determine, as their texts show no differences. For ordinary purposes, therefore, the cheap edition will suffice, and it is, as a matter of fact, superior to the bibliophile-edition, in that it has page headings, giving the book and chapter in question, while (3) has no headings at all, thus making it difficult to find a particular passage. For scholarly purposes, the Weimar edition is the only one to be considered, as it is only by means of its critical apparatus that one can distinguish the emendations of the editor. These emendations are very numerous, as the MS. is corrupt in many places. The orthography has been normalized, first by comparison of Goethe's contemporary letters, and secondly by reference to the letters of Barbara Schulthess, one of which is included in the fac-similes of the bibliophile-edition. Where the *Lehrjahre* afford a parallel text, corrections are easily made, at other places one instinctively feels that there is something wrong with the text, without being able definitely to restore the original. For example, Vol. 51, p. 4, 5, the text reads: "sie hoffte, dass sie (*i. e.,* Kinder und Enkel) geschcuter sein sollten, als sie bei ihrem Leben nicht hatte sehen können." One is tempted to emend: "als sie sie bei" . . . or else, "nicht hatten sein können." Vol. 52, p. 58, 13, the text reads: "und in der Nachbarschaft die Freichore herumschwärmten." Why this was not changed to "Freicorps" is inconceivable, especially as the latter form occurs later, p. 183, 8, where it is also supported by the reading of the *Lehrjahre.*

A detailed comparison of the text of the *Urmeister* with that of the *Lehrjahre* is beyond the scope of this article. To give a general idea, however, it may be stated that the *Urmeister,* as we have it, extends only to the beginning of the Fifth Book of the *Lehrjahre,* where Meister agrees to join Serlo's company. The second half of the later version, including the *Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele,* is therefore lacking in the *Urmeister.* The latter begins with the childhood of Wilhelm, including the account of the Puppet-play which the grandmother makes, and the children's theatricals, all of which are given later in the *Lehrjahre,* as mere reminiscences of Wilhelm. The art-collection of the grandfather is nowhere alluded to, nor does the connoisseur appear, whom Wilhelm meets in the *Lehrjahre.*

Werner, whose father does not figure at all in the original story, becomes the brother-in-law of Wilhelm before the latter sets out on his journey. There is only one journey, and the episode of Melina and his wife is brought in differently. Later on, Wilhelm meets these again in the company of Madame de Retti, who does not figure at all in the *Lehrjahre*. It is here that Meister first goes upon the stage, to play the character of Darius in the first performance of his own tragedy of *Belsazar*, an extract from which is given, together with an outline of the play. At the Count's castle there is a secretary who writes plays, and has charge of the dealings with the actors, whilst in the *Lehrjahre* this character is combined with that of the Baron. The final episode between Wilhelm and the Countess, at the end of the Third Book of the *Lehrjahre*, is lacking in the *Urmeister*, and as this motivates the subsequent development of several of the characters in the *Lehrjahre*, it would seem that Goethe had not as yet formulated the later plan.

In developing this plan, years afterward, it was to be expected that Goethe would not always be able to harmonize the different settings of the two stories. For example, in the *Lehrjahre*, Vol. 21, p. 136, Wilhelm is represented as riding along on horseback, while a number of pedestrians successively catch up with him, greet him, and leave him behind. The incongruity of this picture, which had always struck me, is now explained, for in the *Urmeister*, from which the scene is taken bodily, Wilhelm makes this part of the journey on foot.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Further Note on Musset

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for April, 1912, I pointed out that Musset, in the famous *Nuit de Décembre*, plagiarized from himself by borrowing almost verbatim a passage from an earlier and less known poem, *A Laure*. It may be interesting to note that in another case he reversed this process, transferring a passage from a well-known work to an obscure one. In *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*, Act I, Scene IV, Perdican exclaims: "O patrie! patrie, mot incompréhensible! l'homme n'est-il donc né que pour un coin de terre, pour y bâtir son nid et pour y vivre un jour?" Twenty-one years later, in one of Musset's last poems, *Retour*, these words reappear as follows:

> O patrie! ô patrie! ineffable mystère!
> Mot sublime et terrible! inconcevable amour!
> L'homme n'est-il donc né que pour un coin de terre,
> Pour y bâtir son nid, et pour y vivre un jour?

Musset had to do little but find a pair of rhymes, in order to change his fine prose into verse.

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The Source of *Christ* 416 ff.

It has not been observed by investigators of the sources of the Old English *Christ* that the lines (416 ff.)

> Ēala! hwæt þæt is wræclīc wrixl in wera līfe,
> þætte moncynnes milde scyppend
> onfēng æt fæmnan flæsc unwemme,
> ond sīo weres frīga [w]iht ne cūþe,
> nē þurh sæd ne cwōm sigores āgend
> monnes ofer moldan

are based upon the antiphon: "O admirabile commercium: Creator generis humani, animatum corpus sumens, de Virgine nasci dignatus est: et procedens homo sine semine, largitus est nobis suam Deitatem." This antiphon is employed, according to the Roman use, at Lauds and Vespers of the feast of the Circumcision (or octave of the Nativity) and at Lauds of the vigil of the Epiphany, and it occurs already in the Gregorian antiphonary (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVIII, 741). Though the poet has handled the material with characteristic freedom, the closeness of

the verbal correspondences between the Latin and the English makes his indebtedness to the antiphon quite clear.

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TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF BROWNING

Among the MSS. in the British Museum, I found two letters of Browning's which, to the best of my knowledge, have never been published. One I print in part, and one entire. The first is perhaps interesting, as showing Browning's steady ambition as well as his admiration for the author of the vastly overrated *Ion:* the second is important, as proving that even so late as 1880 the sale of Mrs. Browning's poems greatly exceeded that of her husband's.

The first letter is to Talfourd, and is dated from Paris, 138 ave. des Champs Elysées, 17 Dec., 1851.

. . . "For my poor poetry—it has been the best I could do—it should have been far better to deserve your sympathy and recognition=what it may be, hereafter,—in whatever I may be able to effect yet—there is no saying: but it has been good for one of the best events of my life—it procured me the knowledge of you, the friendship" etc.

The second letter is to the Rev. H. R. Haweis, and was written in London, under date of 11 May, 1880.

"Dear Mr. Haweis,

I have just got your book, and at once thank you very heartily for your kind sympathy and indulgence—conspicuous in the article concerning myself—which is all I have as yet read—I wish your Printers would be more useful,—'fair, like my peers'—and 'with his human hair'—for 'fare like my pecrs' and 'human air' do me wrong, you will confess.

On one point you are misinformed,—you will be glad to know=instead of the poetry of E. B. B. being 'almost forgotten,' it is more remembered—than it ever was. A note from the Publisher, four days ago, apprises me that the almost yearly new edition of the five volumes is out—and the corresponding edition of 'Aurora Leigh'—while a second series of Selections from the Poetry is just printed. The demand for my own work is nothing like so large.

Pray believe me, Dear Mr. Haweis, yours with all respect and much obligation,

Robert Browning."

The truth is, that although after 1870 Browning had an enormous reputation, his poetry never had a large sale during his lifetime.

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TH. GAUTIER AND RONSARD

All students of modern French literature are familiar with the following verses of Théophile Gautier's poem, *L'Art:*

Tout passe.—L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité.
Le buste
Survit à la cité.
Et la médaille austère
Que trouve un laboureur
Sous terre
Révèle un empereur.
Les dieux eux-mêmes meurent.
Mais les vers souverains
Demeurent
Plus forts que les airains.

It is interesting to compare Gautier's insistence here upon the immortality of art with some verses in which Ronsard uses very similar expressions in proclaiming immortality for the artist-Poet and those whom he celebrates.

Mainte ville jadis puissante
Est ores morte avec son nom,
Ensevelie, et languissante,
Et Troye est encor florissante,
Comme un beau Printemps, en renom;
Bien d'autres Roys qu'Agamemnon,
Ont fait reluire leur vertu,
Et si sont morts, car ils n'ont eu
Un Homere, qui mieux qu'en cuivre,

En medaille, en bronze ou tableau,
Les eust arrachez du tombeau
Faisant leur nom vivre et revivre.[1]

Tu peux, maugré la Mort blesme,
Mieux qu'une plume ou tableau,
T'arracher, vivant, toy-mesme
Hors de l'oublieux tombeau;
Faisant un vers plus durable
Qu'un Colosse elabouré,
Ou la tombe memorable
Dont Mausole est honoré.[2]

Qui penses-tu qui ait fait croistre
Hector, ou Ajax si fameux?
Ne te puis-je faire apparoistre
Par renommée autant comme eux?
Certes le fort et puissant stile
Des Poëtes bien escrivans,
Du creux de la fosse inutile
Les a deterré tous vivans.
. . . .
Les livres seuls ont de la terre
Jupiter aux Cieux envoyé,
Et luy ont donné le tonnerre
Dont Encelade est foudroyé.[3]

The poems from which these citations are taken are contained in Ronsard's first collection of odes, published in 1550, and again in the *édition princeps* which the poet gave of his works ten years later. The other editions of Ronsard's works published during the poet's lifetime do not contain the first two; the third, the *Ode à Charles de Pisseleu,* appears only once, in the edition of 1567. They were reprinted, however, under the heading, *pièces retranchées,* at the end of the posthumous editions of Paris, 1609, 1617, and 1623.[4] Brunet also describes an edition of Paris, 1629–1630, which, to judge from his description, contained these odes. They were not published again till 1855, when P. Blanchemain edited them under the title, *Œuvres inédites de Pierre de Ronsard.* They were finally absorbed in his edition of the complete works of Ronsard cited above.

The *Émaux et Camées,* which contained Gautier's poem, *L'Art,* appeared in 1852. One cannot then be absolutely certain that the poet of *L'Art* knew the verses from which his own seem to be, so to speak, distilled. But in view of Gautier's enthusiasm for the poets of the Pléiade and his well-known bibliophile curiosity it would seem highly probable.

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[1] Ode à Gaspar d'Auvergne (1550): *Œuvres complètes de Pierre de Ronsard* (P. Blanchemain), Paris, 1857–1867, Vol. II, p. 470; *Œuvres de P. de Ronsard* (Grands Écrivains—Marty-Laveaux), Paris, 1887–1893, Vol. VI, p. 123.

[2] Ode à Bouju, angevin: Blanchemain, *op. cit.,* II, p. 458; Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.,* VI, p. 110.

[3] Ode à Charles de Pisseleu: Blanchemain, *op. cit.,* II, p. 451; Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.,* VI, 102.

[4] Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.,* VI, p. 491; cf. also Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire,* Paris, 1863, IV, 1376.

"Goethes Vermächtnis"

I should like to call attention to a book which, so far as I know, has not been brought to the notice of American scholars. It is *Goethes Vermächtnis* von Else Frucht, with the subtitle "Eine frohe Botschaft," Delphin-Verlag, München und Leipzig, 1913. Des Werkes erster Teil. The work consists of 252 pages with twenty-four illustrations and six sketches in the text.

It is not my intention to furnish here the contents of this remarkable publication or to write a critique of it. Suffice it to say that Mrs. Frucht is on the track of "Ein unentdecktes Werk Goethes." We may assume that the writer follows in the wake of F. A. Louvier, who, even twenty-five years ago, endeavored to find a key to Goethe's *Faust.* Perhaps it may not be amiss to mention in this connection Louvier's treatises on *Faust,* since they are made accessible to the reader in reprints by C. Boysen, Hamburg. His best known work is: *Sphinx locuta est,* Part I and II, corresponding to Goethe's *Faust* I and II.

Mrs. Frucht is attempting to determine and to discover the "Hauptgeschäft" ("Hauptwerk," etc.) of which Goethe spoke so frequently in his last years. Unfortunately, she, like her predecessors, has not succeeded alto-

gether in her ardent studies and sedulous searches, but her diligent labor of love will, I trust, bear fruit some day—and not very long hence.

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The Kings of *Andromaque*, V, 2

In *Modern Language Notes* for June, Mr. Colbert Searles calls attention to the different readings assigned to the fourth line of the following passage from *Andromaque:*

Quoi? sans qu'elle employât une seule prière,
Ma mère en sa faveur arma la Grèce entière?
Ses yeux pour leur querelle, en dix ans de combats,
Virent périr {*trois* / *vingt*} rois qu'ils ne connoissoient pas?
Et moi, je ne prétends que la mort d'un parjure,
Et je charge un amant du soin de mon injure.[1]

Hermione is here seeking to justify her attack upon Pyrrhus by reference to the number of kings who perished on account of her mother, Helen of Troy. Mr. Searles thinks she has in mind three kings because that is the number given by Mesnard in the edition of his *Œuvres de J. Racine* which appeared in 1885–1888. *Vingt rois,* which he finds in Mesnard's earlier edition[2] and in most other modern texts, he considers due to "the obvious difficulty of identifying from the natural sources (the Homeric poems) the 'three kings' to whom Hermione refers." His article attempts to remove this difficulty by naming these three kings. As Homer's warriors were well known to Helen, he turns ingeniously to Dictys of Crete, from whose narrative he exhumes Phorbas, Eetion, and Teuthras, all kings, all unknown to Helen, all satisfactorily slain. To explain the difficulty offered by their not dying before her eyes, he takes the line to mean "saw it come to pass that three kings whom she did not know perished in her cause."

When I read Mr. Searles's article, I asked myself how Racine the artist, the man who so thoroughly understood his audience, could possibly have been guilty of writing *trois* rather than *vingt*. The latter is, of course, a round number and with it the line means merely that many stranger-kings died for Helen's sake, as everybody in the audience was ready to believe. *Qu'ils ne connoissoient pas* contrasts with *amant* as *vingt* contrasts with *un*. There is nothing in the passage that could not be at once understood. If, however, Racine wrote *trois,* he used a definite number, which would be justified only if his auditors readily understood to what kings he referred. As few of them had ever heard of Phorbas, Eetion, and Teuthras, reference to them in this connection would be a piece of pedantry worthy of Chapelain or d'Aubignac and entirely foreign to Racine.

As this charge against Racine's dramatic sense rested entirely on the text of Mesnard's second edition, I determined to go to the sources and discover where the error belonged. Accordingly I examined at the Bibliothèque Nationale the following editions of *Andromaque:* those that appeared, separately from his other works, at Paris in 1668 and 1673, at Amsterdam in 1682; those that appeared in the dramatist's collected works published at Paris in 1676, 1681, 1687 (two editions), 1696, 1697, at Amsterdam in 1678 and 1690. These are, I believe, all the editions that appeared during Racine's lifetime. I examined also the important edition of 1702, said to have been supervised by Boileau. Mesnard declares that he bases his text on the edition of 1697, the last which Racine could have corrected, and draws his variants from the editions of 1668 and 1673.

Now every one of these editions, those used by Mesnard as well as the others, gives *vingt rois.* There can be no doubt about the correctness of this reading. The error of writing *trois* evidently arose in the composition of Mesnard's second edition, for his first edition gives *vingt,* as Mr. Searles remarks. The fact that

[1] V, 2, lines 1477–1482.
[2] 1865–1873.

Mesnard adds no note of explanation indicates that he did not know that the change had been made. Probably a type-setter substituted the word *trois* because his eye fell upon the following *rois,* which so closely resembles it.

Fortunately Mesnard has not led many editors into error. Among the few editions in which the mistake occurs is that of *Tous les chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature française.* I am glad to find that our college texts edited by F. M. Warren and B. W. Wells have retained the correct reading, *vingt rois.*

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BRIEF MENTION

Among the last books to appear before the outbreak of the war was *le Roman de Renard* (Paris, Champion, 574 pp.). The beginnings of this remarkable study by Mr. Lucien Foulet date back a number of years, a fact which renders the more noteworthy the resemblance of its main thesis to Mr. Bédier's "il faut étudier les chansons de geste d'après ce que nous savons du onzième siècle": Mr. Foulet would have us add a parallel dictum for the *Renard,* and makes an analysis of the group of Renard poems in their setting of the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century which is remarkable not alone for its thoroness but for the comprehensiveness of the results obtained. Beginning with an examination of the internal evidence contained in the various "branches" of the *Renard,* the author finds multiple indications of their relative and their absolute chronology, and believes that he can locate them in correct order between 1170 and 1210. In Branch II plus Branch V^a he sees the original French poem of the series, the first specimen of the "heroi-comic epic" and a concave mirror of the aristocratic society of the times. The theme was ready to hand in the beast stories of a clerical Latin work, the *Ysengrimus,* but the epic character it takes is a stroke of the author's genius. Br. II-V^a forms a unified poem, in which Mr. Foulet sees a satirical touch: Noble the Lion is Louis VII; Musard the Camel is the papal legate Pietro di Pavia. The marked success of this poem resulted in a series of imitations, adaptations, or continuations that constitute the Renard cycle. Various sources, as was natural, were utilized in the series: *Ysengrimus,* fables, sermons, clerical stories, every-day life, and what not, but the whole hypothetical framework of a lost antecedent Renard cycle vanishes. Br. II-V^a is the first French work on the subject, and is derived from the *Ysengrimus,* itself a clerical adaptation of the Æsopic fables; the *Reinhart Fuchs* is an imitation of the earlier Renard branches; direct evidences of a medieval fox-and-wolf folklore are absent; modern folklore is the creature and not the creator of the immensely popular and widely imitated Renard cycle. The conscientious fullness of treatment and the judicial attitude of the author are striking. It is interesting to note how he recognizes where his argument or his hypothesis fails to reach the almost universal high average of solidity and himself makes in such cases the proper qualifications. In one instance he has perhaps let his personal conviction find expression in over-positive terms: his definite attribution of the first French poem (Br. II-V^a) to Pierre de Saint-Cloud, along with the conclusion that its original title was *Renard et Isengrin,* is based on evidence that constitutes a reasonable presumption rather than a definite proof. Again, while it is not unnatural, in the light of the mention of the *Tristan* in the prologue of Br. II, to consider with Mr. Foulet the insertion of the adultery motif a reminiscence of the Yseut-Tristan-Marc situation, such a conclusion is not inevitable. It is a merry rogue that the author of the branch is depicting, a rogue from whom the sympathies of the auditor must not be harshly alienated, and this is sufficient to account for a softening of the rape of Hersent by the introduction of an antecedent acquiescence. But these are mere questions of detail. The book is stimulating, interesting, and convincing, and next to the *Légendes épiques* the most important contribution in recent years to the study of Old French literature.

The publishers of Storm's *Collected Works* have recently added a supplementary volume to the eight volumes issued some years ago. (Theodor Storm, *Spukgeschichten und andere Nachträge zu seinen Werken,* Sämtliche Werke, Bd. 9, Braunschweig u. Berlin, Westermann, 1913). The main title "Spukgeschichten," which has superseded Storm's own "Am Kamin," seems meretricious, and was probably intended as a bait for the general public. Under

this heading there are united, in the form of a "Rahmenerzählung," eight pen-and-ink sketches covering some thirty pages. Published in 1862, in a now forgotten "Modezeitung," they were omitted from the first *Collected Works* solely on account of the author's inability to get hold of the back numbers of this journal. While the narrative element in these eight tales of mystery (in no case is a solution attempted) is rather slight, the setting of the "Rahmenerzählung" is most charming. The remaining "Nachträge" consist of *Kritische Aufsätze* (pp. 35–71), *Vorreden und Einleitungen* (pp. 75–97), *Kulturhistorische Skizzen* (pp. 101–134), and *Nachgelassene Blätter* (pp. 137–146). The *Kritische Aufsätze,* dating from the years 1854–55, were originally contributed to Eggers' *Literatur-Blatt.* They are important not only for the literary history of the time but on account of their presentation of Storm's theory of the lyric at the hand of illustrative material. The reviews dealing with Klaus Groth and Fontane are of especial interest. The Notes of Fritz Böhme, the editor of the volume, permit a complete survey of the material treated by the poet-reviewer.

The *Vorreden und Einleitungen* have in part been less inaccessible and are also of less consequence. Of permanent value are the editor's Notes giving the tables of contents of the *Deutsche Liebeslieder* and the *Hausbuch aus deutschen Dichtern.* Of the latter all the four editions are taken into account. The *Kulturhistorische Skizzen* are in the manner of Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit.* Originally published in Westermann's *Monatshefte,* they appear to be material that was excluded from Volumes III and IV of the *Sämtliche Werke* (III, 184–191 = *Monatshefte* XXXI, 78–81; and IV, 3–34 = *Monatshefte* XXXI, 81–94) because of its non-belletristic character. The *Nachgelassene Blätter* represent the fragmentary beginnings of an autobiography.

The value of the volume is greatly enhanced by the editor's Notes, which give this supplementary volume a character that the previous volumes cannot lay claim to.—If the editor has not been able (p. 161) to find in Goethe the statement "der Dichter müsse sich den Stoff durch die Zeit erst in eine gewisse Form rücken lassen, ehe er an die Behandlung desselben gehe," the explanation is doubtless that Storm is here confusing Schiller with Goethe. The passage in question is found in Schiller's review of Bürger's *Gedichte* (Säkular-Ausgabe XVI, 239). A complete *Register,* covering both the original text and the editor's Notes concludes the volume. To the list of the three misprints consisting of misspelled proper names should be added a more serious one to be found on page 71, where in Fontane's ballad "James Monmouth" *geben* is printed for *gegeben.*

The recent work by Professor Arthur Livingston: *La Vita Veneziana nelle Opere di Gian Francesco Busenello* (Venezia, Callegari, 1913) follows his critical edition of the *Sonetti Morali ed Amorosi di G. F. B.* (Venezia, Fabris, 1911) and a number of monographs concerned with this poet and his times. Busenello is not a poet of the first rank, as the author tells us plainly, but he is typical of his time and nation, and the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries,—amply attested in the first chapter of this work,—is sufficient reason for recommending his acquaintance to all students of Venetian life of this period. The work of reconstructing the life of the poet from fragmentary information of varying authority has been skilfully and conscientiously done, and so has that of extracting from his writings a correct and complete impression of his character and ideas, and of his relations with contemporaries. The author has had a particularly keen eye for everything in his poet's works which contributes to our knowledge of Venetian life of the time. He has evidently been fascinated himself by the garish spectacle of the great state in its decay, and the reader cannot but sympathize. Busenello, whose share in the life of his city was as great as that of an individual could be, who was neither a reformer nor a reactionary; whose philosophy was shallow but whose observation was acute, is a writer admirably suited to represent the ideas of his time. His writings in Tuscan illustrate the faults of the seventeenth-century learned; those in dialect,—which are of course far more interesting—, show the tastes of a man no better than his educated fellow-citizens. The satires, which are ineffective because hardly ever inspired by righteous indignation, are full of information, because they are written by one who saw all the degeneracy of his people, understood the meaning of it all, and liked most of it. Busenello was wordy, and this book abounds in citations—many of them long—the text of which is admittedly not definitive owing to the untrustworthy condition of the MSS. and editions. The aim of the author is to give as

complete a portrait of the poet as possible, and especially not to omit anything of value to the student. The latter will not be ungrateful, for Busenello was almost unknown before Mr. Livingston directed his attention to him. The bibliography of the subject here given us is a welcome addition to the tools of the workshop.

J. E. S.

Revista de Filología Española. Director: Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Tomo I, cuaderno 1, abril-junio, 1914 (*Madrid:* Junta para la ampliación de estudios, Centro de estudios históricos, 8vo., 148 pp.). This new quarterly review marks an epoch in the study of Spanish philology in Spain. Two solid original articles, *El original árabe de la "Disputa del asno" contra Fr. Anselmo Turmeda,* by Miguel Asín, and the critical edition of the Old Spanish poem *Elena y María* (with complete facsimiles of the MS.) by R. Menéndez Pidal, make a firm foundation for the number. A. Castro's review of Hanssen's *Gramática Histórica* and Solalinde's review of Schevill's *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain,* are truly analytical in contrast to the complimentary book notices so prevalent in Spanish journals. An appreciative brief mention of Solalinde's *Sacrificio de la Misa* completes the review section. A distinctive feature of the *Revista* is the classified bibliography (General, Language and Literature), which includes not only books but articles and book reviews. This section offers by far the best current bibliography of Spanish philology and allied subjects. In short, to judge from the initial number, the *Revista* is to take high rank among the Romance journals.

Foerster's promised glossary to the whole of Chrétien's writings has appeared as the twenty-first volume of the *Romanische Bibliothek* (*Kristian von Troyes: Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken,* unter Mitarbeit von H. Breuer. Halle, 1914. xxi + 237 [Introduction] + 281 pp.). The extensive introduction sums up the doctrine of the scholar who has employed the larger part of a lifetime in the study of the great medieval author. While in many instances the discussion is a repetition or an adaptation of Mr. Foerster's earlier expositions, it is of distinct advantage to have his final synthesis correlating the whole, filling in the gaps, and presenting in orderly sequence adequate material regarding the life, works, language, and style of Chrétien. Whether accepting or qualifying the thesis which Mr. Foerster has so long and so vigorously defended, all will welcome this effort to give finality to his demonstration of the national character of the Arthurian poetry and inspiration. The largest amount of new material is to be found in the seventy-eight pages devoted to the Graal. It is sincerely to be hoped that present events will not prevent the realization of Mr. Foerster's promise to round out his edition by the publication of Chrétien's *Graal* with the aid of the manuscript material which has been turned over to him by Mr. Baist.

The vocabulary itself aims to be a complete list, with full references for rare words and representative citations for all others. Foerster naturally includes the *Guillaume d'Angleterre.* He rejects *Philomena* and bases the *Perceval* vocabulary on manuscripts M and C. Etymologies are included. Mr. Breuer had a large part in the preparation of the list, but Mr. Foerster assumes full responsibility for all it contains. The test of use will determine what further additions need be made to the errata listed on pp. xviii-xxi. It will add to the convenience of handling the introduction and the glossary if they be bound separately, and the independent pagination facilitates this. The utility of this glossary is not limited to its use in the study of the author. Chrétien's works are of such substantial length and his vocabulary is so considerable that the list constitutes a valuable complement to our dictionaries. The two parts of the book are an important accession to the literature of the subject, and when he shall have added the *Perceval* to the other editions, this indefatigable investigator can turn to the further labors he has in mind with the satisfaction of knowing that he has furnished the most substantial body of standardized text and critical apparatus that exists for a homogeneous section of Old French literature.

A new edition of Mr. Richard T. Holbrook's English translation of the *Patelin* has recently been issued by the W. H. Baker Company (Boston, 1914). The introduction and notes to the first edition have been revised, and the text has been carefully reviewed, with many resulting changes of phraseology. While the book does not lay claim to be more than a popular edition intended primarily for stage use, its interesting and scholarly commentary makes it of value also to specialists and an excellent introduction to the study of the *Patelin.*

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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AASE AND PEER GYNT

In a previous artiele (*Ibsen's Peer Gynt and Paa Vidderne, Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* Vol. IX, No. 1, 1910) the writer connected the whole scene in Gudbrandsdal, depieted in the first three aets of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt,* with the poem *Paa Vidderne* (1859), in which the general setting bore a marked resemblanee to certain phases of Peer Gynt's early life. The hero in exile upon the mountains, his return to the valley to visit his mother, the description of the beautiful, naïve Norwegian girl, the little red hut, the cat, the aged mother, her death and the scene in whieh the hero bears her aloft to heaven; all these have their eounterparts in both poems. It is a question, however, whether the relations of Peer Gynt to his mother may not have been tinged by sources extraneous to the poet, as well as by the previous poetic conception of the relations of mother to son, to which Ibsen himself had given such beautiful expression in *Paa Vidderne.*

In Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin* (1805) we have a relation of mother to son in Morgiane and Aladdin, which in its general conception and individual details bears such a striking resemblance to the relations of Aase to Peer Gynt in Ibsen's poem, that a comparison of the two works in this regard is not out of place, however fortuitous many of these resemblances may be or however mueh they may owe their origin to like situations.

It is not the purpose of this article to prove how far Ibsen was in general or in this particular regard indebted to Oehlenschläger for the material whieh he used in his dramas, or for his ideals of Romantie poetry. It is sufficient to state that especially in the very early part of his eareer [1] he was very strongly influenced by the great Danish Romantie poet.

[1] Cf. especially "*Kjæmpehøien,*" 1850, which Henrik Jæger called "an impersonal study after the manner of Oehlenschläger's Norse tragedies."

The forerunners of *Peer Gynt* whieh gave poetic expression to the great life-problem of individuality are too numerous to mention. How far Ibsen may have drawn from these numerous sources in depieting the life of Peer Gynt, it is impossible to state.[2] But in view of Ibsen's close connection with the Danish Romantic School, it seems hardly probable that he was left entirely unaffected by the Danish masterpieees of this nature, especially such works as Heiberg's *En Sjæl efter Døden* (1841), Paludan-Müller's *Adam Homo* (1841) or Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin* (1805). If Ibsen was at all affeeted by any of these works, it is most natural to look to Oehlenschläger as the author to whom he was indebted, sinee Oehlenschläger exerted the strongest influenee upon him of any of the Danish poets.

In *Aladdin* Oehlenschläger gives expression to the ideal of life whieh he himself held, whieh in essence was a justification of the Romantic conception of life, the realization of perfection through constant striving for the ideal. The tremendous influence whieh this work exerted throughout the North eannot be overestimated, and it is highly improbable that Ibsen was not strongly impressed both by the beauty and the inner significanee of this poem. As regards the literary signifieanee of *Aladdin,* Georg Brandes once said: "*Aladdin* er Udgangspunktet for nyere dansk Aandsliv, Grundstenen, over hvilken den Bygning er opført, som udgør dansk Litteratur i det 19. Aarhundredets første Halvdel."

In *Peer Gynt* Ibsen likewise gives expression, although in an entirely negative way, to his ideal of life, "*at være sig selv.*" The identity of purpose in depieting the inner struggle of the soul with the problems of life renders the assumption not impossible that Ibsen may have been affeeted by the impression whieh Oehlenschläger's work made upon the literary world of the North.

[2] Cf. Christian Collin, *Ibsen's Peer Gynt,* Samtiden, p. 593 ff., 1913.

Aside from the fact that *Peer Gynt* was essentially a Romantic product (although, of course, the expression also of a totality of life which went far beyond the bounds set by the ideals of the Romantic School), there was something identical in the life of Ibsen with certain ideals and experiences in Oehlenschläger's life, which lend great plausibility to the belief that the scenes in which the relations of Aase to her son are depicted, may to a large extent have been colored by Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin.*

It is the purpose of this article to emphasize only one conception involved in Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* and Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin.* This conception, identical in both poems, is the relations of mother to son; Aase to Peer Gynt in Ibsen's poem and Morgiane to Aladdin in Oehlenschläger's. The resemblance is so striking that one can hardly avoid the conclusion that Ibsen must have been affected in this regard by Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin,* even if one cannot prove that the individual features involved were directly due to Oehlenschläger's influence. Both Ibsen and Oehlenschläger modelled the character of the mother directly (although, of course, with necessary exaggeration) upon that of their own parent. In a letter to Peter Hansen (October 28, 1870) Ibsen says: "Dette digt (*Peer Gynt*) indeholder meget, som har sin foranledning i mit eget ungdomsliv; til Åse har, med fornødne overdrivelser, *min egen moder avgivet modellen.* (Ligeså til 'Inga' i 'Kongsemnerne')." And Oehlenschläger in his memoirs, after telling how Aladdin with his magic lamp was the symbolic expression of his own life's struggle as a poet, adds: "Min Moder var død, og da jeg skrev Aladdin's Vuggesang paa hans Moder's Grav, *flød mine Taarer over min egen Moder.*"

In both poems the hero is a dreamer who is a victim of circumstances and his own delusions. Aladdin works out his own salvation by a realization of his inherent powers. Peer Gynt, on the other hand, succumbs to his inherited weaknesses, failing to realize the true meaning of life. Of Peer Gynt Georg Brandes says (Verdens Gang, 1906): "Oprindelig er han et ganske interessant menneske, hvem forholdene mishandler." So, too, Nureddin says of Aladdin whom his mother has upbraided for his incapacity to comprehend the practical things of life (*Aladdin,* Act I):

> Saavidt som jeg kan mærke paa Aladdin,
> Saa er han af en ædel, stolt Natur.
> For ung til aabne sig en Bane,
> Nedtrykt af al den Armod rundt omkring sig.
> Er han ei vaagnet ret endnu, og derfor
> Har Leg og Lediggang bestandig tumlet
> Den ubevidste Siæl, som i en Vugge.

This Faustian stamp laid upon the characters of Peer Gynt and Aladdin renders their individuality in a measure identical and may account, to a certain extent, for the attitude in both poems of the practical mother towards a son whom she believes worthless, on account of this pernicious tendency to waste life in idle revery. It was Oehlenschläger's purpose to justify the idealist's dreams, while Ibsen portrayed the fatal results of a character which was absolutely incapable of putting its dreams into action. But, however much this may explain the general attitude of the mother to the son, identical in both poems, a comparison in detail of those scenes in which mother and son appear, reveals such a striking—in some cases an almost verbal—similarity that the writer is prone to believe that Aase and Peer reflected much that was represented in Oehlenschläger's Morgiane and Aladdin.

An attempt will here be made to connect in detail the identical features in these scenes between mother and son in the two poems. In general it may be said that in both poems the scenes in which mother and son are involved, are a very important feature in the delineation of the youthful character of the hero and from an esthetic view-point they are indispensable to the poetic value of the work, for they lend to both poems their highest flights of poetic fantasy and their most human and touching pathos. The detailed comparison is as follows.

In *Aladdin* (Act I) when Nureddin approaches Morgiane, as her alleged brother-in-law, for the purpose of soliciting the services of her son in the quest of the magic lamp, he

inquires into the character of Aladdin. Morgiane describes her son exactly as Peer Gynt is, a reckless, good-for-nothing young ruffian, who runs away from his work, leaving her with the whole responsibility of the household duties, tearing his clothes for her to mend, and continually getting into fights with the other boys of the village. Yet she always defends him whenever anyone else attempts to abuse him, just as Aase does Peer Gynt.

> Ak, hvortil han har Lyst? At gaae paa Gaden
> Den hele, lange Dag, at spille Skorsteen,
> Nærmest til Væg, Klink, Pind, og So i Hullet;
> At søle sig Snavset som *et Sviin*,
> *At rive Buxerne itu for Knæet*,
> At slide Hul paa sine Albuærmer,
> At *slaaes*, at *bande* og at *løbe gal*.

So, too, Aase (Act I) upbraids Peer for running off on a wild chase (for the deer) when duty demands him at home. He returns with torn trousers but without the game; a fruitless chase indicative of a careless regard for her and her household duties.

> Og du skæms ej for din moer?
> Først så *render du tilfjelds*
> månedsvis i travle ånnen,
> for at vejde ren på fånnen,
> kommer hjem *med reven pels*,
> *uden byrse, uden vildt*.

Peer, too, is continually getting into fights, the most famous of which was his battle at Lunde with his ancient enemy, the blacksmith. For this, too, Aase upbraids him.

> Kan du nægte
> du var fremste Mand i laget
> i det store basketaget,
> som for nylig stod på Lunde,
> der I slogs som olme Hunde.

Morgiane, in her answer to Nureddin, reproaches Aladdin for his absolute lack of practical sense. Though son of a tailor, "he doesn't know enough to comb his own hair."

> Hvad kan vel det forslaae? Han gidder ei
> Bestille—Gud forlade ham, det Skarn!
> Saa meget, som at *kæmme selv sit Haar*.

This reproach reminds one very strongly of the wise answer which Aase makes (Act I) to Peer's egotistical pretensions and wild prognostications of his future greatness.

> Gid du bare blev så klog,
> at du engang *kunde bøde*
> *flængen i din egen brog*.

In this same passage (Morgiane's answer to Nureddin's inquiries concerning Aladdin's character) Morgiane laments the fact that Aladdin's reckless conduct and impractical character have forced her to bear alone the whole burden of the home. She is now a widow, just as Aase is.

> *Alt ligger paa mig arme stakkels Kone.*
> Han skulde være *Skrædder, som hans Fader;*
> Men ak, Gud bedre ham for Skrædd'r, han er!

So Aase, too, upbraids Peer for not supporting her in her old age. He has wasted the wealth of his forefathers and, to crown all, has cast shame upon her name.

> Ti stille!
> Kan jeg glædes, om jeg vilde,
> jeg som har *sligt svin til søn*?
> Må det ikke bittert krænke
> mig, *en stakkars magtløs enke*,
> stødt at fange skam for løn?
> (græder igen)
> Hvad har slægten nu tilbage
> fra *din farfars velmagtsdage*?
> Hvor er skæpperne med mynt
> efter gamle Rasmus Gynt?
> . . . .
> Ak, du er dog stærk og stor,
> skulde *stå som stav og støtte*
> *for din gamle skrale moer*.

Morgiane, like Aase, has a most affectionate regard for her son and whenever anyone else attempts to abuse him, her mother-instinct impels her to defend him. Thus she always took his part when his father was alive, who was continually abusing him.

> Da Mustapha endnu var levende,
> Tog jeg det Skarn i Forsvar; Himlens Straf
> Nu kommer over mig for al min Svaghed.

This attitude on her part is especially evident (Act II) when Aladdin reports the shocking

news that Nureddin betrayed him and cruelly abused him by striking him in the face.

Morgiane.
(*opbragt*)
Og hvad som værre var: *slaa dig paa Øret,*
Saa nær du næsten havdet tumlet om.
Den næsviis! hvem har *givet ham vel Lov til*
At tugte fremmede Forældres Børn?
Den slette Karl!

So too Aase, though ready herself to flog Peer at any moment, always defends him against the insinuations or abuse of those outside the family, whether they be just or not. When the smithy in malicious glee threatens to hang Peer, Aase angrily defies him (Act I): "Hvad! Hænge min Peer! Ja, prøv om I tør;" and when Ingrid's father (Act I) swears that he will take Peer's life for the crime which the latter has committed, Aase likewise defies him with a mother's pride.

Hægstadbonden.
(kommer barhovedet og hvid af vrede).
Jeg tager hans liv for det bruderov!
Åse.
Å nej Gud straffe mig om I får lov!

Her unselfish mother's attitude towards Peer is summed up (Act II) in her reply to the man who consigns Peer on account of his sins to the eternal abode of the wicked.

Å-ja, å-ja;
jeg er dårlig; men gutten er bra'!

Morgiane, in spite of Aladdin's incapacity in practical affairs, has always fostered a firm faith in his future. She believes that some day he will be "something great," just as he has continually told her, although she reproaches him for his fanatical ideas and his connection with the magic lamp. She pictures him (Act II) as some day being a rich and prominent merchant from whom she shall buy her linen (the rich merchant was the highest ideal of success among the Mussulmen of the Orient).

Nu tænkte jeg
Saa vist, den hellige Grav var vel forvart
At vist du skulde *blevet noget Stort,*
At altid jeg mit Lærred skulde kiøbe
Hos dig, naar først du var en fornem Kiøbmand.

Peer's life is likewise made up of these extravagant pretensions, which he is continually trying to impress upon his mother (Act I).

Lille stygge, snille moer,
du kan lide på mit ord,
hele bygden skal dig hædre,
bare vent til jeg får gjort
noget—*noget rigtigt stort!*

His mother has shared his dreams with him from early infancy and although she indignantly reproaches him for his extravagant pretensions, nevertheless she is consciously or unconsciously a proud partner in his heralded future. When she is in an angry mood because of Peer's usurpation of her authority and his acts of violence towards her, she playfully prophesies that he will gain the crown of life upon the gallows (Act I): "du blir sagtens hœngt tilsidst." But when her darling son is accused of being a hardened sinner and a criminal (Act II), she recounts his great deeds with a mother's pride, believing him, if opportunity allows, capable, in part at least, of the many "great things" which he has prophesied concerning himself.

Manden.
Tror du han kan for sin syndegæld sukke?
Åse.
(*ivrig*).
Nej, men han kan ride i luften på bukke!
. . . . .
Ingen gerning er ham for stor.
I skal se, får han bare leve så længe.

Aladdin, in his suit for the hand of the Sultan's daughter, selects his mother as his spokesman. He is induced to elect her to this perilous office because of his admiration for her superior wisdom. His mother assumes the obligations of this task, but true to her sincere and upright character warns Aladdin that she shall not attempt to conceal from the Sultan the fact as to her son's plebeian birth. She shall describe Aladdin just as he is, the son of *"en fattig Skrædderenke."*

So, too, Peer Gynt begs his mother (Act I) to act as his spokesman in his suit for Ingrid's hand. He would rather rely upon her wisdom than upon himself, of whose clumsiness and

lack of tact he is painfully conscious. Aase is glad to assume this office, in which she finds an opportunity to vent her anger by giving a truthful description of Peer's character, much to the latter's discomfort.

Peer.
Vær min talsmand. Du er klog;
snak med ham, den gamle dåren—
Åse.
Ja, det kan du bande på!
Du skal vakkert skudsmål få.
Skildres skal du for og agter;
alle dine fandens fagter
skal jeg nævne grejdt og grant.

When Aladdin (Act IV) is released from prison on condition that he shall restore the Sultan's daughter and the palace within a given time, he returns home to visit his mother. He is met at the door of his house by a stranger who informs him that his mother is dead. The stranger, ignorant of Aladdin's identity, tells him that Morgiane's son, by committing a crime (against the person of the Sultan) has caused her to die of a broken heart. Since Aladdin is now an outlaw, the few precious household goods are left without an inheritor. With deep pathos the stranger speaks of these simple articles of the home, which bring with them a flood of memories and tender associations.

Manden.
Gaa I kun med Gud.
Alting staar der endnu, som før det stod.
Det gamle Huusgeraad og hendes Rok.
Jeg veed ei ret, hvad jeg skal gjøre med det,
Det gamle Skramleri; det duer ikke,
Og der er ingen Arvinger, thi *Sønnen*
Har jo forbrudt sit Gods og Liv.
. . . . .
Det er dog tungt for slige gamle Folk.
Hun døde nu af Kummer for sin Søn,
Det skammelige Skarn!

There is a strong resemblance in this scene to that in which Peer (Act III), after committing the bold crime of seducing Ingrid, returns to visit his mother. His offence against the law has resulted in the confiscation of his mother's household goods. With a pathos similar to that of the stranger in Aladdin, Aase and the faithful Kari (Act III) dwell upon the few articles of the household which the avaricious Hægstadbonde has overlooked; Peer's coat ("Kuften"), the skin-blanket, the old moulding ladle, his socks, and two old woolen shirts. Tender memories are associated with these simple things, which are all that is left of her beloved son. This sorrow, too, is directly followed by her death, just as in the case of Morgiane, although Aase does not expressly state that Peer was the cause of it.

Aladdin then (Act IV) enters the house and catching sight of the old spinning-wheel undisturbed in its customary place just as his mother has left it, plies it himself in playful and affectionate imitation of his mother. In this regard one is involuntarily reminded of Peer Gynt's boyish attempts to amuse his mother upon her death-bed and especially of that last great ride up to heaven when he throws the reins over the chair and licks up his steed, Grane, in boyish imitation of the many rides they used to take when mother and son still lived in the early youth of domestic joy and love.

Aladdin then (Act IV) goes out to his mother's grave and sings a cradle-song to her, that song over which the author himself shed tears in memory of his own mother, whose spirit had just passed away. There is a pathos and an affection here which approach very closely that sublime sentiment to which Ibsen gave expression in Aase's death-scene. It does not lie beyond the bounds of probability that Ibsen may have drawn inspiration for Aase's death-scene in *Peer Gynt* from the exquisite expression of maternal affection in Aladdin's "Vuggesang."

Both Aladdin and Peer treat their mother with a child's affection. Aladdin rocks his mother to sleep with a plaintive lullaby:

Visselulle nu, Barnlil!
Sov nu sødt, og sov nu længe,
Skiøndt din Vugge stander stil,
Uden Duun og uden Gænge.

Peer amuses his mother with childish ingenuity, seeking to quiet her pain and quell her fears. Both are filled with an inexpressible gratitude

for the love which the mother had bestowed upon each of them in his childhood. Their affection is naturally connected with those early days when the heart of the mother and child are as one. Aladdin's song is only in return for that which his mother once sang over his cradle.

> Du har ofte vugget mig,
> Nu skal jeg dig atter vugge.

Peer (Act III) likewise playfully reciprocates his mother's love when she rocked him to sleep in the cradle, as he presses the last kiss upon her cold cheek.

> Hav tak for alle dine dage,
> for bank og for *barne-bys!*
> Men nu får du takke tilbage—
> (trykker kinden mod hendes mund)
> Se så; det var tak for skyds.

It is possible also that Aladdin's "Vuggesang" may have suggested the form and sentiment of Solveig's song:

> Sov du, dyreste gutten min!
> Jeg skal vugge dig, jeg skal våge.

although there is, of course, no necessary connection between the two.

Aladdin imagines (Act IV) that he is still in possession of the magic lamp. Concealing this imaginary lamp beneath his cloak he sallies forth into the crowd upon the street, confident that by virtue of his magic lamp he will straightway retrieve his ill fortune. He is met on all sides by jeers and derisive laughter from the crowd, who believe him mad. Stung to the quick Aladdin resents their taunts and resorts to active violence by pelting them with stones. He warns them to step out of the way when he conjures up the lost palace, lest they be crushed to death. He himself leaps out of the way, which confirms them in their conviction that he is a mad dreamer and adds to their amusement in taunting an eccentric character.

> Tag jer i Agt, nu kommer Slottet strax,
> Staa det i Veien ei, det Knuser eder.
> (han løber tilside. *En stor Skoggerlatter*).

Even so does Peer Gynt (Act I) furnish endless amusement for the peasants assembled at Ingrid's wedding festival. They delight in taunting this eccentric dreamer who makes such amusing pretensions concerning himself, just as is the case with Aladdin. Their jeers and mockery cut Peer to the quick.

> Stødt så flirer de bag ens ryg,
> og tisker, så det tvers igennem en brænder
> . . . . .
> Øjekast; sylhvasse tanke og smil.
> Det gnisler, som sagbladet under en fil.

But strong brandy soon heals Peer's sensitive pride, whereupon he indulges in those wild tales for which he is famous and which lend amusement to the festive occasion. The older, more sober members of the crowd are sure that Peer is mad.

> Peer Gynt
> (med et slæng)
> Hej, jeg kan ride
> rakt gennem luften på gilde heste!
> Å, jeg kan mangeting, jeg, skal I vide.
> (*Skoggerlatter* igen).

The similarity in these scenes, just mentioned in the two works, consists of the wild dreams which both heroes foster, their sensitive natures and the cruel attitude of an unsympathetic, realistic world.

Aladdin then casts aside his imaginary lamp, whose worthlessness he has discovered, and starts out on his journey of life in quest of the true lamp. Peer Gynt's real life in the active world likewise begins after his mother's death.

This brief comparison of the scenes in which mother and son are involved in Oehlenschläger's *Aladdin* and Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* points toward the conclusion that, although much may be fortuitous by virtue of the similarity of character in the person of Aladdin and Peer Gynt, yet it is equally probable that in these particular scenes Ibsen may have, to a certain extent at least, been indebted to Oehlenschläger both for his inspiration in general and for many individual features involved in Peer Gynt's relations to his mother, Aase. The character of the mother, based as it was in both poems

upon that of the author's own parent has a universal sympathy and affection which is characteristic of all true mothers. But this will hardly account for the striking similarity in detail which both poems show in those scenes where the relation of mother and son is involved.

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TWO DISCIPLES OF TRANSCENDENTALISM

It has been said by someone [1] that Emerson holds in America about the same position as a reflector of spiritual experience and as an interpreter of the characteristic thought of his times as Tennyson holds in England. Other than this statement no one, so far as known to me, has thought of coupling the names of these two writers. Yet a comparison of their writings reveals certain likenesses which may have been overlooked. Tennyson was not, of course, the same kind of philosopher as Emerson was; his thoughts ranged over a wider field, and he did not concern himself entirely with speculations about the soul and its relations. He was interested in the great social and political questions of his day also. Nevertheless, when Tennyson did drop into meditation about matters spiritual we find him in a rather transcendental atmosphere and very close to Emerson.

On comparing them, one is impressed by many parallelisms in their thoughts, not only in the published essays and poems, but in observations uttered from time to time and recorded by their biographers. These similarities are most striking, however, in those writings which are admittedly the chief expressions of thought concerning spiritual things. *In Memoriam, The Higher Pantheism, The Ancient Sage* contain mainly Tennyson's idealistic views, while the central thought of all Emerson's philosophy is found in the essay, "The Over-Soul." There are passages in Tennyson that are almost and often altogether identical in thought with passages in Emerson's essays; their likenesses are indeed so striking that when I first observed them I hesitated to publish them because I thought it impossible that they had not been noticed. But I have searched in vain through the commentators and can find no instance of where Tennyson has been called a transcendentalist or where his name has been linked to that of Emerson.

Let us take as a first example, just to see how they touch each other, their attitude toward doctrine or formal belief. We find that neither Tennyson nor Emerson had a definite or formal system of belief. Emerson, in a letter to a Dr. Ware, who had taken exception to some of his views, writes, "I could not give an account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the arguments you so cruelly hint at on which any doctrine of mine stands." Tennyson, we are told in the *Memoir* (vol. I, p. 308), once said that he would not formulate his creed, for people would not understand him if he did. He was one of those who seemed:

> To have reached a purer air,
> Whose faith has center everywhere
> Nor cares to fix itself to form.

Compare also what they both held about immortality. Emerson believed in immortality "not because of the statement of Luke and John but because it is a law of the spirit," and Tennyson writes (*In Memoriam,* xxxiv),

> My own dim life should teach me this
> That life shall live for evermore.

We find this passage from Emerson, "Love is our highest word and the synonym of God" (Essay on "Love"). And with the same meaning of the word love, Tennyson at the beginning of his elegy invokes the "Strong Son of God, Immortal Love."

They held, too, the same idea as to beauty or art, for Emerson writes (Essay on "Art"), "As soon as beauty is sought, not from religion and love but for pleasure, it degrades the

[1] H. W. Mabie, "How to Study Tennyson and Emerson," *Ladies Home Journal,* March, 1908.

seeker." This is, of course, the teaching of *The Palace of Art,* where the selfish soul sought beauty for mere pleasure, but shut out love and was thus degraded.

Further than this we find views such as the belief that there is a tendency for all things to become better, that the source of man's power is from above, that the senses have affected the soul so that it looks on time and space as real, striking in the similarity of expression. Emerson, in an address before The Free Religious Association, laid down as the first simple foundation of his faith, "that the Author of my nature has not left himself without witness in any sane mind; that the moral sentiment speaks to every man the law after which the universe was made; that there is a Force always at work to make the best better and the worst good." With the last clause compare the stanzas in Canto liv of *In Memoriam:*

> Oh, yet we trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill,
> To pangs of nature, sins of will,
> Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;
>
> That nothing walks with aimless feet;
> That not one life shall be destroy'd,
> Or cast as rubbish to the void,
> When God hath made the pile complete;

In "The Over-Soul" stand these sentences: "Man is a stream whose source is hidden. Always our being is descending into us from we know not whence. . . . I am constrained every moment to acknowledge a higher origin for events than the will I call mine." How like this is the passage from *The Ancient Sage:*

> This wealth of waters might but seem to draw
> From yon dark cave, but, son, the source is higher,
> Yon summit half-a-league in air—and higher,
> The cloud that hides it—higher still, the heavens
> Whereby the cloud was moulded, and whereout
> The cloud descended. Force is from the heights.

Emerson writes, also in "The Over-Soul": "The influence of the senses has in most men overpowered the mind to that degree that the walls of time and space have come to look solid, real and insurmountable;" and again, "Before the great revelations of the soul, Time, Space, and Nature shrink away. In common speech we refer all things to time, as we habitually refer the immensely sundered stars to one concave sphere." Compare with this the lines from *The Ancient Sage:*

> But with the Nameless is nor Day nor Hour;
> Tho' we, thin minds, who creep from thought to thought
> Break into 'Thens' and 'Whens' the Eternal Now:

A favorite doctrine of Emerson's is that known as the Universal Soul, a pantheistic idea which forms a considerable part of his teaching. He says ("The Over-Soul") that a prevailing soul of the universe hallows the world, hallows humanity, fills nature with beauty, "that Unity, that Over-soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other;" and also, "I am somehow receptive of the great soul." Some such belief, it would seem, was held by Tennyson also, for he said, "I've often had a strange feeling of being wound and wrapped in the Great Soul." This was said in explanation of the stanzas in Canto xcv of *In Memoriam:*

> So word by word, and line by line,
> The dead man touch'd me from the past,
> And all at once it seem'd at last
> The living soul was flashed on mine,
>
> And mine in this was wound and whirl'd
> About empyreal heights of thought,
> And came on that which is, and caught
> The deep pulsations of the world,

Again in *The Ancient Sage* we find this passage which relates a similar experience of being immerged in the great soul:

> And more, my son! far more than once when I
> Sat all alone, revolving in myself
> The word that is the symbol of myself,
> The mortal limit of the Self was loosed,
> And past into the Nameless, as a cloud
> Melts into Heaven.

Both Tennyson and Emerson held in common that the world was in some way a part of a Divine whole, a manifestation in a mysterious manner of God. Emerson says ("The Over-

Soul"), "We see the world piece by piece, as the sun, the moon, the animal, the tree; but the whole, of which these are the shining parts, is the Soul." Tennyson, in *The Higher Pantheism*, says,

> The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—
> Are not these, O Soul, the vision of Him who reigns?

Tennyson said, moreover, to his friend Mr. Locker-Lampson "that perhaps this earth and all that is on it—storms, mountains, cataracts, the sun, and the skies—are the Almighty: in fact that such is our petty nature, we cannot see Him, but we see His shadow, as it were, a distorted shadow" (*Memoir* II, 68).

As they both held that God and the universe are one, so they held that the Soul and God are one. Tennyson said (*Memoir* I, 320): "The soul seems to me one with God, how I cannot tell," and Emerson writes ("The Over-Soul"): "Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul."

Perhaps the basic idea of transcendentalism is that of the inner voice, the voice of the spirit, which is more potent than all the voices of reason. Transcendentalism is summed up as a belief "that within the mind are certain intuitions of knowledge of the truth and right that 'transcend,' that is to say, go beyond, are independent of all experience," that "there is that in the soul of man which transcends what may come into the mind by the avenues of the senses." With this definition of transcendentalism before us and Tennyson's oft-repeated belief in the infallibility of the heart's feelings over the colder reason, we must place him beside Emerson as a transcendentalist (*Memoir* I, 314): "Yet God IS love, transcendent, all-pervading. We do not get THIS faith from nature or the world. . . . We get this faith from ourselves, from what is highest within us." And Emerson, in "The Over-Soul," writes, "Let man, then, learn the revelation of all nature, and all thought to his heart; this namely: that the Highest dwells with him; that the sources of nature are in his own mind, if the sentiment of duty is there. But if he would know what the Great God speaketh he must go into the closet and shut 'the door' as Jesus said." And in "Spiritual Laws" he wrote: "There is a guidance for each of us, and by lowly listening we shall hear the right word." Tennyson puts into the mouth of the Ancient Sage essentially the same thought:

> If thou would'st hear the Nameless and wilt dive
> Into the Temple-Cave of thine own self
> There brooding by the central altar, thou
> May'st haply learn the Nameless hath a voice
> By which thou wilt abide if thou be wise.

Compare also these passages (1) from "The Over-Soul," "The soul is the perceiver and revealer of Truth. We know Truth when we see it, let skeptic and scoffer say what they choose. Foolish people ask you when you have spoken what they do not wish to hear, 'How do you know it is the truth and not an error of your own?' We know truth when we see it from opinion as we know when we are awake that we are awake," and (2) from *The Ancient Sage:*

> Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son,
> Nor canst thou prove the world thou movest in,
> Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone,
> Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone
> Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one:
> * * * * *
> For nothing worthy proving can be proven,
> Nor yet disproven.

Tennyson, again in *In Memoriam* (cxxiv):

> That which we dare invoke to bless,
> Our dearest faith; our ghastliest doubt;
> He, They, One, All; within, without;
> The Power in darkness whom we guess;
>
> I found Him not in world or sun
> Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye;
> Nor thro' the questions men may try,
> The petty cobwebs we have spun;
>
> If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep
> I heard a voice "believe no more"
> And heard an ever-breaking shore
> That tumbled in a Godless deep,
>
> A warmth within the breast would melt
> The freezing reason's colder part
> And like a man in wrath the heart
> Stood up and answered "I have felt."

Truth to Tennyson, as to Emerson, was a matter of intuition, of instinct, of the heart.

Tennyson has been compared with Keats, Shelley, Wordsworth, and Milton, and there is, of course, a sympathy between him and these, perhaps, in some respects, a closer sympathy than between him and Emerson. But with regard to that speculative, religious philosophy, characterized by a certain vagueness, which has been called New England Transcendentalism, and which is found expressed in substance in the essay "The Over-Soul," Tennyson stands side by side with Emerson. It is not probable that any one could find that they influenced each other, but they did live in the same era, although in different countries, and came under the same influences of that wave of ideal philosophy which supplanted the materialistic philosophy of the eighteenth century. We find, therefore, that in these ideas they are at one, namely, in the absence of a definite or formal system of belief; in the pantheistic idea of the mysterious union of God with nature and the soul; in the doctrine of the universal soul; in their trust in the reality of spiritual insight.

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CERVANTES AND BOOKS OF CHIVALRY

In his prologue to the first part of *Don Quixote* (1605), Cervantes makes a friend say to the author: "En efecto; llevad la mira puesta á derribar la máquina mal fundada de estos caballerescos libros, aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de muchos más; que si esto alcanzásedes, no habríades alcanzado poco." In the final chapter of the second part (1615), Cervantes repeats his purpose in writing *Don Quixote,* and boasts of success: "pues no ha sido otro mi deseo que poner en aborrecimiento de los hombres las fingidas y disparatadas historias de los libros de caballerías, que por las de mi verdadero don Quixote van ya tropezando, y han de caer del todo, sin duda alguna." Historians of Spanish literature seem to agree with Cervantes that he achieved his purpose. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, to quote the latest writer on the matter, states in his *Littérature Espagnole* (1913, p. 285): "Il voulut détruire les mauvais livres de ce genre: il y réussit. Après que Don Quichotte eût paru, on écrivit [1] encore des romans de chevalerie, mais on ne les publia pas, et un seul—l'Espejo de Príncipes, y Cavalleros (1562–1581–1589) de Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra—fut réimprimé (1617–1623). Pourquoi cet arrêt subit? C'est que Cervantes donnait mieux que ce qu'il ôtait."

Such a conclusion presupposes that books of chivalry flourished until 1605 and that they then immediately ceased to be published. According to Ticknor, it was Faria y Sousa who first observed (1637) that in consequence of the publication of *Don Quixote,* books of chivalry "no son tan leídos." In a dedication to the novel printed in 1668, we are told that its previous repeated impressions "han desterrado los libros tan perjudicales á las costumbres." Clemencín, in his edition of 1833, stated that after 1605 "no se publicó de nuevo libro alguno de caballerías, y dejaron de reimprimirse los anteriores." Ticknor noted exceptions to this generalization—the *Genealogía de la Toledana Discreta,* 1608 (1604), and *El Caballero del Febo,* 1617 (1562), 1623 (1581). To Ticknor's list ought to be added the following works, all of which would have found a place in Don Quixote's library of "caballerescos libros":

Roberto el Diablo, 1607 (1509), 1627, 1628.

La Doncella Theodor, 1607 (1530), 1642, 1676.

Oliveros y Artús, 1608? (1499).

Lope de Vega, *Hermosura de Angélica,* 1608 (1602).

Eslava, *Noches de invierno* ("novelas caballerescas"—Salvá), 1609.

La Crónica del Cid, 1610 (1498), 1616 (two editions), 1627 (two editions).

[1] In the previous edition we read: "Après la publication de Don Quichotte, on n'écrivit plus de roman de chevalerie."

Carlomagno, 1613 (1528), 1641, 1650.
Tablante de Ricamonte, 1614 (1513), 1629.
Contreras, *Selva de aventuras,* 1615, two editions (1572).
Balbuena, *El Bernardo,* 1624.
Magalona, 1628 (1519), *ca.* 1690.
Roselauro y Francelisa, 1630 (MS.).

Paradoxical as it may seem, we may now consider another aspect of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's question: "Pourquoi cet arrêt subit?" Ticknor observed that the period of the passion for books of chivalry was eminently the sixteenth century. He might have been more precise: it had passed by the end of the eighties. Cervantes began to write *Don Quixote* after 1590. From 1590 to 1605, when the first part of his novel appeared, almost no books of chivalry were written or reprinted. The typical works —the *Amadises, Esplandianes, Febos, Palmerines, Lisuartes, Florambelos, Esferamundos,* to quote those mentioned by Lope de Vega as typical—were no longer in sufficient demand to justify new editions. The sole exceptions were a few reprints made at Lisbon. The presses of Madrid, which by 1590 were taking the lead in the Peninsula, did not then, nor for that matter during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, publish a single work of this kind in prose. In attacking books of chivalry, Cervantes was attacking the tastes of a previous generation— his own generation. By 1605, it must be remembered, Cervantes was fifty-eight years of age. The new generation had the *Comedia;* it was no longer interested in books of chivalry, nor indeed in pastoral romances, which like the former had died a natural death. There were exceptions, it is true. As late as 1621, Lope de Vega says of a girl that she was "bachillera y hermosa, y picaua en leer libros de cauallerías y amores" (*Las Fortunas de Diana,* 69 vo.). But this aspect of the matter need not be dwelt upon here, and I conclude with a list of books of chivalry published in Spain, exclusive of Portugal, between 1590 and 1605.

Contreras, *Selva de aventuras,* 1590 (1572), 1591, 1592?, 1600?, 1603.
Pedro de Portugal, 1595 (1570).
Barellas, *Los Condes de Barcelona,* 1600.
Lope de Vega, *La Hermosura de Angélica,* 1602 (written in 1588), etc.
Magalona, 1602 (1519).
Policisne, 1602.
Crónica del Cid, 1604 (1498).
Oliveros y Artus, 1604 (1499).
Martínez, *La Toledana discreta,* 1604.
Tablante de Ricamonte, 1604 (1513).
Roberto el Diablo, 1604 (1509).

Only three of these were not reprinted after 1605!

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FURTHER NOTES ON CLASSIC LITERARY TRADITION

II

A favorite device employed to describe the effects of love is the use of oxymora, a mild example of which is furnished by Shakespeare, *R. and J.,* I, 1: "O loving hate!—O heavy lightness! serious vanity!—Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health!" That this practice was traditional, although the taste of the individual writer dictated, to a large extent, the choice of opposites, the following passages, representing the most extreme cases, will make clear:—Watson, *Hecatomp.,* V, XII, XVIII, XL, the last an imitation of Petrarch, *Son.* CIV, which also served as the model for Wyatt, p. 9 (Aldine ed.), and for Baïf,[5] *Am. de Francine,* p. 150 (ed. Marty-Laveaux); Lodge, *Rosalynd,* p. 48 (ed. Hazlitt), an amplification of Terence, *Eun.* 58 sq.; Constable, *Diana,* VI, 2; Lyly, *Euphues,* p. 107; id. *Endimion,* V, 2; *Gallatea,* I, 2; Sidney, *A. and S.,* VI; Baïf, l.c., p. 102, from Petrarch, *Son.,* CII; Jodelle, *Les Am., Son.* XLII; Ronsard, *Les Am.,* CLIII, CLXXVIII (cf. Petrarch, *Son.* CXXVIII); Tasso, *Madr.,* CXIV, Attiviano, Poeti, II, p. 232; *Roman de la Rose,* 4911 sq. (ed. Michel), translated by Chaucer (?) R. of R., 4706 sq.; cf.

[5] Cf. Ingraham, *The Sources of Les Amours de J. A. Baïf,* pp. 35–6.

id. *T. and C.*, I, 400 sq., a translation of Petrarch, *Son.*, CII; Chaucer, in turn, may have influenced the author of the *Compleynt*,[6] 495 sq.; Chrétien, *Yvain*, 1404 sq., *Cligès*, 3007 sq., passages which seem to have been inspired by the *Énéas*, 7858 sq.; cf, *Amadas et Ydoine*, 291 sq. From the Provençal poets, cf. G. de Borneil (Bartsch, *Chres. Prov.* 1880, p. 103 l. 15 sq.); R. de Vaqueiras, Mahn, *Werke d. Troub.*, I, p. 366. So there is a long line of these oxymora in the *Carmina Burana*, LX, 1 (ed. Schmeller).

Neither in the erotic poetry nor in the romance of the ancients do we find the long series of oxymora which occur in later literature, although many of the most popular antithetic pairs occur frequently;[7] *e. g.*, the bitter-sweet, sweet madness, sweet pain, sweet captivity, cold fire, sweet death, dear wounds, soothing flames, gentle war,[8] etc. In the comedies of Plautus and Terence, however, we do find examples of the multiplication of oxymora comparable, to a certain extent, to the examples cited above; cf. Plaut. *Cist.*, 68 sq.; *Pseud.*, 63 sq.; Ter. *Eun.*, 58 sq. We may safely conclude, I think, that the Latin poets adopted this method of describing love from their models, the writers of the New Comedy, and we are able to form some idea of their practice in this matter from a fragment[9] of a play by one of them, the *Phaedros* of Alexis. Here we are told that Love is neither male nor female, god nor man, neither foolish nor wise, but a mixture of all of these; that he has the courage of man, the cowardice of woman, the madness of a fool, the wisdom of a philosopher, the violence of a wild beast, the hardness of flint. One wonders whether Euripides, who furnished much to the New Comedy, and who was very fond of oxymora, did not supply it with a good deal of this material. It is significant, at least, that he employs them in connection with love in his *Hipp.* 525 sq.; cf. frag. 26; so, however, does Sophocles, cf. frag.[10] inc. 856. The most famous antithesis of all, moreover, the bitter-sweet, goes back as far, at least, as Sappho, frag. 40 (Bergk); cf. Theog. 1353.

This antithesis gave rise in the Latin to a play on words which became proverbial; cf. Plaut., *Trin.* 260: amor amara dat; id. *Cist.* 68: Eho, an amare occipere amarumst? Verg., *Ecl.* III, 109: Quisquis amores / haud[11] metuet dulcis, haud experietur amaros. Even St. Augustine could not forbear, and in his *Confessions*, IV, 12, 18, he writes: Bonum quod amatis, ab illo (sc. Deo) est; sed quantum est ad illum, bonum est et suave; sed amarum erit iuste, quia iniuste amatur deserto illo, quidquid ab illo est. The early French and the Italian poets were able to reproduce the pun, if so it may be called; cf. *Amadas et Ydoine*, 295: "D'amer est mervilleuse cose! —Car de chose amere fait miel / Et de douceur fait savoir fiel;" Froissart, *Ballades Amour.*, XXX, 16: "Fis me tienc qu'en bien amer / On n'i troeve rien d'amer;" Meo Abbracciavacca (*Poeti*, II, p. 21): "amore amaro;" Noffo Bonaguida (ib. 2, p. 262): "Che dolce e dilettoso / Incominciai l'amor, ch'è tanto amaro / Mi sembre il cor suo savor venenoso;" Chiaro

[6] Ed. Schick, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. LX.

[7] A convenient list from the Latin elegiac poets is given by Pichon, *Sermo Amatorius*, p. 28; cf. Hor., O. I., 27, 11; IV, 1, 4; I, 33, 14; for the bitter-sweet, cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter d. Römer*, pp. 217–8, 133. On the Greek side the *Anthology* furnishes the largest number of examples; cf. XII, 126, "dear wounds"; XII, 132, cold fire (a common conceit; cf. *Mod. Lang. N.*, XXVII, 1912, p. 68); XII, 99, sweet pain; V, 134, XII, 109, 153, bitter sweet, XII, 167, sweet tears; (so Meleager, XII, 167 calls Love the "Sender of sweet tears"); cf. Musaeus, 166, for sweet fire, and note the examples in Moschus, *Id.* I, the famous Run-a-Way Love. That such antitheses were a part of the rhetorician's stock in trade we may conclude from their appearance in the "love letters" of Aristaenetus, cf. II, 5, sweet fire, bitter sweet, and of Theophylactus, cf. LXXXIV, sweet tears, sweet pain, and in Libanius, cf. p. 1069 (Reiske), sweet grief, sweet pain. The list could easily be increased.

[8] Cf. Ov. *A. A.* II, 236, mollia castra, and for this conceit in the Middle Ages, cf. Meyer, *Romania*, IV, 1875, p. 382.

[9] Quoted by Athen. XIII, 562; cf. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Frag.*, II, p. 387.

[10] Eurip. *Aeolos*, Nauck, *Tragicorum Graec. Fragmenta*, p. 295; Soph., *Id.*, p. 263.

[11] Ed. Hirtzel. The uncertainty in the reading affects only haud.

Davanzati,[12] III, p. 50: "Amore amaro dico." It was made famous by Mantuanus, *Ecl.* I, 52: "nec deus (ut perhibent) amor est sed amaror;" cf. Mustard's Introduction to his edition of Mantuanus, pp. 41, 46, for quotations of this line. Note, too, the Italian proverb (Giusti, l. c. p. 42): "Amore non è senza amaro."

To express fittingly this "dulcis amarities" of love (Catul. LXVIII, 18), the speakers of Latin had at hand another convenient jingle, mel—fel. Cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 69: amor et melle et fellest fecundissumus. / Gustui dat dulce: amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit; cf. id. *Poen.* 394. Whether the Greeks were responsible for this antithesis it is impossible to say; it occurs, it may be noted, in connection with love in Moschus, *Id.*, I, 9: "Like honey is Love's voice, but within is gall,"[13] and among the Anacreontics,[14] fr. 27 A, the manufacture of Cupid's weapons: "The barbs Venus tempered, using the honey sweet, but Cupid mixed in gall."[15] This pair occurs, too, in an epigram in *Anthol. Planudea* XVI, author unknown, who quotes it as a proverb, not, however, applying it to love: Πᾶν τὸ περιττόν, ἄκαιρον· ἐπεὶ λόγος ἐστὶ παλαιός, ὡς καὶ μελιτος τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ χολή.

This antithesis, curiously enough, was apparently not deemed worthy of acceptance by the poets of the Augustan Age, probably because it was 'slang,' but it lived on, nevertheless, its preservation aided, beyond a doubt, by the very jingle. Hence its appearance in the *Carm. Bur.*, LX, 1: amor melle dulcior / felle fit amarior, and in Old French poetry; cf. *Énéas*, 8220: "El cors m'as mis une amertume / Peior que suie ne que fiel: / Amors, redone mei del miel;" Chrétien, *Yvain*, 1404, the lover "destranpre suie de miel / et mesle cucre avoeques fiel;" *Amadas et Ydoine*, 295, quoted above, p. 244. I have noticed no example in the Italian poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nor in Petrarch, although in *Son.* CLXXIX, he contrasts honey and wormwood: "E non so che negli occhi, che 'n un punto / Può far chiara la notte, oscuro il giorno, / E 'l mel' amaro, ed addolcir l'assenzio" (cf. Ronsard, *Les Am.*, CLIX: "Et d'un tel miel mon absynthe est si pleine, / Qu'autant me plaist le plaisir que la peine."). In Poliziano, however, the honey-gall conceit re-appears, *Rime Varie*, IV, 185: "Amor gl'insegna le sue voglie amare / Parer piene di mèle, / E son colme di fèle." Of the French sonnetteers it will suffice to cite Ronsard, *Les Am.*, X: "Si le fiel n'amoderoit un peu / Le doux du miel dont mon coeur est repeu—dieu je ne voudrois estre;" cf. XLIX, CXIX, CLXXVIII.

In early English poetry sugar (cf. Chrétien, cited above) is generally substituted for honey; cf. Lydgate, *Res. and Sens.*, 3367: "The sugre of hir (sc. Venus) drynkes all / At the ende ys meynt with gall;" cf. 3402; 4047; *Temple of Glas*, 403; 192; the notes of Sieper and Schick on these passages supply many other references. In *R. and S.*, 3402, Lydgate combines aloes and gall: "But hir (sc. Venus) confecciouns alle / With alloes and bitter galle / Ben ymaked." This expression seems to come from Juv. VI, 181, who says of a wife: plus aloes

[12] Ed. D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Le Antiche Rime Volgari*, Bologna, 1886.

[13] Cf. Plaut., *Truc.* 178: In melle sunt linguae sitae vostrae atque orationes, / Facta atque corda in felle sunt sita atque acerbo aceto. This application of the conceit is common; cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, l. c.; for early English poetry, cf. Sieper's note on Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, 3363. (Early English Texts, Extra Series, LXXXIV.) We find it also in early German poetry; cf. Walther von der Vogelweide, ed. Pfeiffer, p. 249, 5: "den diu zunge honeget und daz herze gallen hât." Cf. the proverb, Honig im Munde, Galle im Herzen, Simrock, *Die Deutschen Sprichwörter*, p. 260.

[14] Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*⁴, III, p. 313.

[15] These 'honey-dipped' arrows are mentioned in Claudian. *Carm. Min.* XXV, 142 (ed. Koch): puroque inbutis melle sagittis / hic nuptam petit, ille virum. In this same poem, vs. 10 sq., there is a description of the garden of the Loves, which the poet describes more at length in his *Epithal. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.*, 50 sq.; in this garden there are two fountains, hic dulcis, amarus / alter, et infusis corrumpunt mella venenis. Such passages, which are derived ultimately from Theocr., *Id.* XV, 120–2, furnished the material for the numerous gardens of Love which appear in the poetry of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It may be noted that the two fountains occur in Poliziano, Puccianti, *Antologia*, p. 190.

quam mellis habet. Barcley, *Ecl.* ii, employs honey—gall: "I see the pleasure of touching is but small, / I thought it honey, I see nowe it is gall;" from this time on examples are numerous; cf. Watson, *Hecatomp.*, XII: "O bitter-sweet, or hunny mixt with gall;" id. XCI; Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 107: "He shall tast tenne quarters of sorrow in his love, then shall he finde for every pynte of hunny a gallon [16] of gall;" cf. id. p. 61: *Endimion*, V, 2, where, among the dishes of delight which Love serves to Sir Tophas, are included, "a hen of hunny, a goose of gall." In view, therefore, of the frequency of this conceit, it is unnecessary to suppose [17] that Spenser, *F. Q., IV*, 10, 1, "For every dram of hony therein (*i. e.*, in love) found / A pound of gall doth over it redound," was imitating the passage which he had written earlier as the *Emblem* to the March *Eclogue*, "Of hony and of gaule in love there is store, / The hony is much, but the gaule is more," and that the source of this was Plautus, *Cist.*, .69–70, quoted above, p. 245. If Spenser had any definite passage in mind when writing the former passage, it was that from the *Euphues* just quoted; as a source for the *Emblem*, why would not the Greek epigram from the *Anthology*, or the words of Juvenal or of Lyly, who agree, at least, that there is more bitterness in the mixture than sweet, serve just as well as Plautus? To search for a definite source for a conceit of this nature, which was common property for over a thousand years, is indeed a difficult task. The wonder is, not that poets employed these conceits, but that they ever abstained from using them.

One must admit, moreover, that there is the same element of uncertainty in the conclusion which I stated at the outset of this paper, that the presence of these conceits in modern literature is due to the vitality of classical tradition. For these conceits are, for the most part, of such a nature that they may have suggested themselves to any poet writing about love. It is an interesting fact, however, that when we turn to early German poetry, the conceits which I have here discussed do not appear except in poetry which, we are sure, was influenced directly or indirectly by this tradition. They appear, as we have seen, in the *Carmina Burana*,—poems in which the erotic element, however much else may be ascribed to purely German folk-poetry,[18] is largely due to inheritance from the classics. Nowhere, however, have I come across an example of the comparison of love to a flame smouldering beneath ashes. Nor is there any German proverb, in spite of the many proverbs concerning fire and ashes, which compares to that which the modern Italians have clearly inherited from their Latin forebears. This fact, therefore, in regard to this conceit, at least, would seem to support my conclusion. The antithesis honey—gall, on the other hand, since it is applied in a proverb (cited above, p. 245) to words versus deeds, may [19] have arisen independently. Its application to love, however, omitting the *Carmina Burana*, occurs first in Hartmann von Aue; cf. *Iwein*, 1572 sq., in a passage corresponding closely to his source, Chrétien, *Yvain*, 1398 sq. The passages deal with the nature of love and the lines [20] chiefly concerned are, Chrétien, "Car mervoille est, comant ele (sc. Amors) ose / De honte an malves leu descendre; / Celui sanble, qui an la cendre / Et an la poudre espant son basme / Et het enor et aimme blasme / Et destranpre suie de miel / Et mesle cucre avoeques fiel:" Hartmann, "daz si (sc. Minne) ie sô diemüete wart / daz sî iht bœses ruochet / und sô swache stat suochet, / diu ir von rehte wære / smæhe unde unmære!

[16] For the idea, cf. Chaucer, *T. and C.*, 3, 1025: "And wolde a busshel venim al excusen, / For that o greyn of love is on it (sc. jalousye) shove."

[17] Cf. Graham, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 212.

[18] We may be sure of very little, as I have tried to show in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII. In regard to love, I have noticed almost no conceit which may not be paralleled in Latin or Greek poetry, or in poetry directly influenced by classical tradition.

[19] I say "may," for here again all that is said in early German literature about gall may be paralleled by passages from ancient literature or from the literature of the church.

[20] I cite Chrétien from the edition of Holland, Hartmann from that of Bech, v. VI of Pfeiffer's *Deutsche Klassiker d. Mittelalters.*

/ si ist mit ir süeze / vil dicke under vüeze / der Schanden gevallen, / als der zuo der gallen / sin süezez honec giuzet / und der balsem vliuzet / in die áschen von des mannes hant." Therefore, if these comparisons were current among the German folk, there is no evidence that they were applied to love until Hartmann came under the influence of Chrétien and classical tradition. In another poem, *Gregorius,* 285, Hartmann applies the antithesis to the love of the incestuous parents of Gregorius: "An disem ungewinne / erzeiget' ouch vrou Minne / ir swæré gewonheit: / sî machet ie nâch liebe leit. / alsam was in gevallen / daz honic zuo der gallen." This poem is also a translation from the French, *La Vie de Saint Grégoire,* but how closely Hartmann is following his source in this passage I am unable to state as I have not had access to the French text.

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QUESTIONS OF AUTHORSHIP

The Shepherdess of the Alps: a comic opera in three acts. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. London: Printed for G. Kearsley, No. 46 Fleet-Street, 1780.

In Hazlitt's *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft* (p. 86) it is stated that Holcroft wrote the "after-piece" *The Shepherdess of the Alps;* and we are informed in the notes to the Waller-Glover edition of 1902 that this was acted at Covent Garden, 18 January, 1780. This play, *The Shepherdess of the Alps,* acted on this date, has been continually attributed to Charles Dibdin the musical composer (1745–1814), in 1800 by the *Thespian Dictionary,* in 1812 by the *Biographia Dramatica,* and in 1832 by Genest, *History of the English Stage.* Yet there is a letter from Holcroft to Mrs. Sheridan, mentioning such a piece by name, begging production, and saying he had "spent all the summer about it." On the other hand, the *Thespian Dictionary* gives *The Shepherdess of the Alps* to Dibdin and says that it was *The Crisis* of Holcroft, which gained representation through Mrs. Sheridan. And then, too, Mr. E. Rimebault Dibdin includes *The Shepherdess of the Alps* in his bibliography of his great-grandfather (*Notes and Queries,* ser. 9, vol. 8, p. 279), and indicates that two songs from this opera were republished in *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (Sheffield, 1787, Songs No. 9 and 14), a collection of Dibdin's work which appeared during the life-time of Mr. Holcroft (*Notes and Queries,* ser. 9, vol. 10, p. 125); also in the *Collected Songs* of 1790. In Dibdin's *Professional Life,* 1803 (2:54–62), he refers to the piece in terms which suggest that he was the author. The first-hand evidence in the *Memoirs,* which have proved very trustworthy in other details, is not, however, so quickly to be cast aside.

We have found indications that the idea of the work came from the French (*British Museum Catalogue* and *Westminster Magazine,* Jan., 1780). It is probable, therefore, that Holcroft did do the piece, but that Dibdin likewise prepared a translation and, being then a more prominent and influential figure, got his on the stage first. This was a fate to which Holcroft was obliged to submit in the case of Goldoni's *La Buona Figliuola* and of Kotzebue's *Indian in England,* and which he later, by his own industry, forced upon Pye and Andrews with their rendering of *The Inquisitor,* and upon Benjamin Thompson and Mrs. Inchbald with their renderings of *Deaf and Dumb.*[1] The seeming contradiction which we have found, appears, then, not to be one, but to be rather an indication of another work; and it is the applicability of the note in the Waller-Glover edition, probably based on the error of Mr. G. F. Russell Barker in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and not the veracity of Mr. Holcroft which we must question.

[1] I communicated some of these facts to Mr. E. R. Dibdin and he seems since to have agreed with me on the subject. (*Notes and Queries,* ser. 11, vol. 8, p. 68.) I also find that the *Westminster Magazine,* Jan., 1780, speaks of Dibdin as the author; and the *European Magazine* in 1792 (22:403) does not include it in its list of Holcroft's works, and some years later (55:177) gives it as Dibdin's.

The German Hotel; a comedy, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row, M.DCC.XC.

Halkett and Laing's *Dictionary* gives this work to "Marshall," and Cushing's *Dictionary* records "— Marshall" as one of the pseudonyms of Thomas Holcroft. Oulton's *History of the Theatres of London,* appearing only six years later than the date of publication (1796), ascribes this piece, acted at Covent Garden, 11 November, 1790, to Mr. Marshall "as reported"; the *Thespian Dictionary* in 1800 did not ascribe it, the *Biographia Dramatica* in 1812 (2:263) gives it to "— Marshall"; Oxberry's *New English Drama* in 1819 gives it in a list of plays ascribed to Holcroft with the parenthetical note: "Under the name of Marshall"; but Genest, in 1832, says it was "probably written by Mr. Holcroft." Here we have the earliest direct indication of Holcroft's authorship forty-two years after the representation and publication, except for the not very certain ascription to be found in the Waller-Glover edition of the *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft* (p. 116), "a friend undertook for a time to father the piece." There is a Mr. Marshall mentioned elsewhere (p. 181), in the *Memoirs;* and in Kegan Paul's book we find Mr. Joseph Marshall intimate with Holcroft and Godwin. In the preface to *The School for Arrogance* (1791) Holcroft tells us that Mr. Marshall, "in consequence of the prejudices which it was imagined Mr. Harris laboured under, . . . acted for a time . . . as the author of the piece." The preface to *Seduction* (1787) gives the details of Holcroft's differences with Mr. Harris of the Covent Garden Theatre, though *Duplicity* (1781) was dedicated to Mr. Harris and though several other prefaces complimented him.

Indication of another possible cause for this anonymity is to be found in the preface to *Knave or Not?* (1798):

"The unrelenting opposition which the productions of the author of the present comedy have experienced for several years is well known to those who pay attention to the public amusements. . . . Since the appearance of *The Road to Ruin,* his comedy of *The Deserted Daughter* only has escaped; and that, as he imagines, because it was not known on the night of its first performance by whom it was written. *Love's Frailties, The Man of Ten Thousand,* and *Knave or Not?* have sustained marks of hostility."

Holcroft also referred to this unfriendly attitude of the public in his Advertisement to *The Vindictive Man,* 2d ed. 1807. The disapprobation of *Love's Frailties,* as indicated in its Advertisement, was due to "the heat of political zeal,"—Oulton (2:176) in 1796 says of the *Deserted Daughter* (1795): "The piece was supposed to be written by Mrs. Inchbald; the author, for political reasons, having deemed secrecy expedient;" *He's Much to Blame* (1798) was, according to the *Memoirs* (pp. 162–163), "brought out in the name of a friend;" and *Deaf and Dumb* (1801) was brought forward under the name of "Herbert Hill" (see Oxberry's edition).

From conditions surrounding production of these other plays we learn that Holcroft afterwards was accustomed to have his works go to the theatre, anonymously or pseudonymously, and often to the press without his name. Also, we learn that the very next year after the appearance of *The German Hotel* he employed the same Mr. Marshall as sponsor for another play. His reasons for doing this were probably not the same as in the case of the later dramas, political reasons, because in 1790 he was not yet a prominent political radical, and because the play contained practically no political dynamite.

Before we decide, however, with absolute certainty it is well to examine Holcroft's means of access to the original German, *Der Gasthof,* of J. C. Brandes of which this is an adaptation. It is well known that, prior to 1800, knowledge of German was very exceptional in England. Holcroft traveled in Germany in 1799, and shortly before he made the trip he translated Kotzebue's *Indian in England.* Hazlitt records, in his paper "On the Conversation of Authors," an assertion by Holcroft of having read Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in the original, but this may have been, probably was,

subsequent to Holcroft's visit to Hamburg in 1799. *The German Hotel* came many years earlier and we must go further back. Holcroft was very intimately acquainted with a young Frenchman by the name of de Bonneville. From 1782 to 1785, MM. Friedel and de Bonneville issued the *Nouveau Théâtre Allemand* at Paris. Our suspicions are immediately aroused when Holcroft says in the Preface to *Love's Frailties*, 1794, that his play came from Baron von Gemmingen's *Der Deutsche Hausvater*, but adds that those "who cannot read German, may find a French translation of that piece in volume VI of a work entitled *Nouveau Théâtre Allemand.*" *He's Much to Blame*, 1798, is stated to owe something to the *Clavigo* of Goethe, and this had been put into French by M. Friedel in 1784. Two German works, Lavater's *Physiognomy* and Trenck's *Memoirs*, both appeared in French before Holcroft "Translated" them. The great notoriety of Caron de Beaumarchais, whose *le Mariage de Figaro* was played that year, and of whom the *Clavigo* was written, would seem to indicate that the French translation was probably brought to Holcroft's attention during his short journey to Paris in 1784. The *Nouveau Théâtre Allemand* is expressly given as the source of Holcroft's "translation" of *The Affectionate Son*, from the German of J. J. Engel, and of the *Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the German Stage*, both appearing in the *Theatrical Recorder*, 1805, as well as of *The Inquisitor*, 1798. Then we turn over a few pages and find a version of Brandes' *Der Gasthof* in the sixth volume of the same *Nouveau Théâtre Allemand*. Thus, Holcroft did not know German; but he did not have to know German to secure the Brandes play for "translation." So, when we find a source of *The German Hotel* included in a book on which he drew so continually for material, and when we see him making use of anonymous authorship at other times, even utilizing the services of this same Mr. Marshall as a dummy, we must, it seems, attribute *The German Hotel* unquestionably to Thomas Holcroft.

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DIE BESTATTUNG SIEGFRIEDS IN HEBBELS *NIBELUNGEN*

Der in Hebbels *Nibelungen* (Siegfrieds Tod, Akt V, Szene 9) bei der Bestattung Siegfrieds stattfindende Dialog zwischen dem Kaplan, der sich mit anderen Priestern vor einer eisernen Tür innerhalb des Doms aufgestellt hat, und einer Stimme von draussen, die für den Verstorbenen Einlass begehrt, ist der Bestattungszeremonie der Kaiser von Österreich, die Dr. Frankl Hebbel mitgeteilt und die dieser sich in seinem Tagebuche wörtlich aufgezeichnet hat, nachgebildet.[1] Diese Zeremonie hat ihren Ursprung in der Antiphonie "*Tollite portas,*" die aus den Schlussversen des 24. Psalms besteht und zuerst bei der *dedicatio ecclesiae*— ihre biblische Vorlage soll für die Einführung der Bundeslade in Zion verfasst worden sein—, dann am Palmsonntag in Verbindung mit der Darstellung des Einzugs Christi in Jerusalem, nachher in der Auferstehungsfeier am Ostersonntag bei der *visitatio Sepulchri* und endlich in der Osternacht bei der Vorführung der Höllenfahrt Christi gesungen wurde.[2] In allen diesen Fällen dient dieser Wechselgesang als ein Begehr um Einlass, allerdings an verschiedene Personen gerichtet und verschiedenen Zwecken dienend. Bei der Kirchweihe wird der Teufel aufgefordert, den für ein Gotteshaus bestimmten Ort zu räumen. Die Kirche ist die einzige Stätte auf Erden, die der Fürst dieser Welt (Joh. 12, 31; 14, 30; vgl. auch Eph. 2, 2; 6, 12) nicht sein eigen nennen darf. Sie ist die Oasis in der Wüste der Sünde und des Elends und bildet den einzigen Schutz gegen Satan (Matth. 16, 18).[3] Am Palmsonntag symbolisiert die Kirche den Himmel, von dem

[1] Siehe Hebbel, Sämtliche Werke. Historisch- kritische Ausg., II. Abtlg., Tagebücher, IV, Bd., S. 50. Nr. 5367; vgl. auch Hebbel, Werke, hrsg. v. K. Zeiss, Bibliographisches Institut, III. Bd., S. 154 Anm.

[2] Vgl. meine Schrift: *Die Teufelsszenen im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*, Göttingen und Baltimore, 1914, S. 21.

[3] Siehe den Paragraphen "Der Teufel und die Kirche" im 2. Teil meiner Monographie *Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters*, Hesperia 6, Göttingen und Baltimore, 1915, S. 142.

sich der Teufel auch zurückziehen muss.[4] An dem Tage, da Christus seinen Einzug in Jerusalem hielt, ziehen seine Bekenner nach der Überwindung und Verbannung Satans in den Himmel, das neue Jerusalem, ein. Bei der Auferstehungsfeier denkt man sich unter der Person, an welche die Aufforderung um Einlass gerichtet wird, nicht den Teufel, und die Kirche ist nicht mehr eine Stätte, die dieser Fürst dieser Erde erst räumen muss. In dieser Zeremonie richtet ein Geistlicher, der sich mit dem ganzen Klerus an der Aussenseite der Haupteingangstür der Kirche aufgestellt hat, die Worte "*Attollite portas*" an die zwei Engel darstellenden und in der Kirche zurückgebliebenen Diakonen. Er verlangt Eintritt, damit auch er und sein Gefolge sich durch das darin aufgestellte leere Grab von der Auferstehung des Heilandes überzeugen können. Bei der Höllenfahrt dienen die Worte "*Attollite portas*" in Munde Christi und der ihn begleitenden Engel als Aufforderung an den Teufel, das verriegelte Höllentor zu öffnen, damit der Erlöser der Menschheit die Altväter aus der Finsternis der Hölle befreien könne. Das Kirchenportal stellt also in dieser Szene das Höllentor dar, während am Palmsonntag die Kirche den Himmel vorstellt. An diese Palmsonntagszeremonie schliesst sich also die Bestattungsfeier der gekrönten Häupter Österreichs an, aber hier stellt der Priester nicht etwa den Teufel, der die Schlüssel des Abgrundes hat, vor, sondern den Pförtner des Himmels, der nur dem öffnet, der sich ihm in Demut nähert. "Seine Majestät, der Allerdurchlauchtigste," "Der Kaiser von Österreich" wird nicht hereingelassen, wohl aber "Unser Bruder Franz." "Ein König aus den Niederlanden, mit so viel Kronen, als er Finger hat," "Ein Held der Erde, mit so viel Trophäen, als er Zähne hat" findet keinen Einlass in die Friedensstätte. Die Tore des ewigen Friedens stehen aber offen dem demütigen, sich seiner Sünden bewussten "Bruder Siegfried, mit so viel Sünden, als er Haare hat."

[4] Der Exlichtträger Gottes scheint durch seine Sünde und Fall noch nicht alle Macht im Himmel eingebüsst zu haben. Die Gegenwart des Teufels im Himmel bezeugen Stellen aus der heiligen Schrift wie Hiob 1, 6ff., 2, 1ff. und Eph. 6, 12, wo die beste deutsche Übertragung der Vulgata "Geister der Bosheit im *Lufthimmel*" ist; siehe J. H. Oswald, *Angelologie*, S. 114. Weizsäcker gibt den griechischen Text τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις "Geisterwesen der Bosheit in der Himmelswelt" wieder.

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RECENT EDITIONS OF DANTE'S *VITA NUOVA*

Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri, ad uso delle scuole, con annotazioni di FRANCESCO FLAMINI. Vol. I: La Vita Nuova; Il Convivio (excerpta). Livorno: Giusti, 1910.

La Vita Nuova di Dante, per cura di MICHELE SCHERILLO. Milano: Hoepli, 1911.

GIOVANNI FEDERZONI, *La Vita Nuova di Dante Allighieri* commentata per le scuole e per gli studiosi. Illustrata con note e giudizi di GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI. Bologna: Zanichelli, [1910].

Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri con proemio, note e appendice di G. A. CESAREO. Messina: Principato, 1914.

Although the ideal edition of the *Vita Nuova* may not exist, and indeed there could scarcely be an ideal one for all purposes, nevertheless there is no lack of editions produced by many of the most competent Italian scholars. Some teachers in this country still use those of Fraticelli (1839, often reprinted), Witte (1876), D'Ancona (1872, 1884), Casini (1885, 1891; "nuova tiratura," without change, 1913), Passerini (1900) and Canevazzi (1900). In 1896 F. Beck published his critical text, which reappears in the "Bibliotheca Romanica" (No. 40, 1907). Moore's *Tutte le opere di D. A.* (Oxford, 1894, 1897, 1904) uses Witte's text. The notes of Melodia's edition (1905) are extremely useful for an investigator, but for

college students they are so voluminous as to be unwieldy. The appearance in 1907 of Barbi's critical text marks an epoch in the study of the *Vita Nuova;* it has been reprinted, with an admirable French translation, by H. Cochin (Paris, 1908), and (with a few changes, some of them suggested by Barbi himself) in the school-editions of Flamini and Scherillo. The present article is intended primarily to give an account of these two editions, together with that published about the same time by Federzoni and the one which appeared late in 1913, with introduction and commentary by Cesareo. All four of these commentators are already well known for important publications concerning Dante. While intended for the same general purpose, the editions are distinctive and individual. All are welcome, since in addition to popularizing the results of Barbi's text-researches, they bring the interpretation of Dante's little book up to date, and contribute a large amount of new material. All are sold at a very moderate price (lire 2 or 2.50), and are suitable for American classes.

The Scherillo edition commends itself first of all by unusually large, clear type, which is a delight to the eye. It has also been issued, unchanged in substance, in *de luxe* form, with a new title-page, broad margins, ornamental borders, and illustrations; it has likewise been translated, notes and text, into Spanish.[1] The introduction was originally a public lecture, and has the characteristics of one. It is extremely interesting, and really introduces. Then follow a note explaining the editor's method, and a *Bibliografia minima* of 7 pages. After the text come four *Illustrazioni e Discussioni,* which had already been separately printed elsewhere: the name of Beatrice (she was Bice Portinari); the first vision described by Dante; the *propria girazione* of the sun (contributed by F. Angelitti); and the *forma architettonica della V. N.,* of which more presently. The most striking feature of the footnotes is the extraordinary number of citations from Dante and other writers,—chiefly Italian and Provençal poets, but also French, Latin, etc. The editor has preferred to interpret the text by quoting significant parallels, rather than by giving explanations or definitions in his own words; and consequently he has left a considerable number of difficult passages without elucidation. The accumulation of citations, even if in some cases their relation to the matter in hand is somewhat remote, is a distinct and notable contribution to the study of the *Vita Nuova.* It is fortunate that a scholar so widely read in Provençal poetry has had the happy idea of composing this kind of commentary. Scherillo also gives the significant variants from other editions, and quotes freely from the English, French and German translations.

All the editors whom we are considering are inclined to avoid discussion on disputed points, of which there are so many in the *Vita Nuova,* and to state their opinions without qualification. Now it is scarcely possible that any two persons, after devoting long and careful study to this puzzling and fascinating book, will agree in every detail of their interpretation; certainly these editors differ widely, and no one of them can be accused of having reached his conclusions without adequate preparation. To the present critic, the views of Scherillo—with one important exception—and his interpretation of the book as a whole seem in general the most acceptable; they will be received as authoritative by scholars who believe that the lyrics and the narrative of the *Vita Nuova* are founded on fact. His statements show both insight and common sense. He does not depart from accepted interpretations for the sake of saying something new. By means of quotations he relates the *Vita Nuova* to Dante's other works; yet he studies the book for its own sake, as a literary monument of intrinsic interest which represents Dante's point of view at a definite period of his life.

Flamini, on the other hand, as he says in his preface, treats the *Vita Nuova* as an introduction to the *Divina Commedia.* He gives no introductory essay, other than the preface in

[1] Dante Alighieri, *La Vida Nueva,* traducida por L. C. Viada y Lluch. *Barcelona:* Montaner y Simón, 1912; see *Bulletin Italien,* XIII, 81; *Bullettino della Soc. Dant. Ital.,* XX, 104–12.

which the aims of the edition are stated; no biographical information, except in the notes when such information is necessary for the understanding of the text. The notes are largely explanatory, with exposition of Flamini's views rather than discussion; they are full of information and clear in statement. To grasp their entire significance, the student should be familiar with the discussion in Flamini's valuable *Introduction to the study of the Divine Comedy* (Josselyn's translation, Boston, 1910) or his larger work, *I Significati reconditi della Commedia di Dante* (Livorno, 1903–4). This edition, intended as a text-book for schools, is distinguished by the inclusion of generous excerpts from the *Convivio,*—sixteen chapters of that difficult work being given complete, and the rest in abbreviated form (not summarized, but brought within compass by omissions); about 125 pages are devoted to this part of the book, against 100 containing the *Vita Nuova.* Here also there are useful foot-notes, and the selections are made with a view to illustrating Dante's other works. A second volume of the *Opere minori* is promised by the same editor, to contain lyric poems (including the three *canzoni* of the *Convivio,* omitted here) and selections from the Latin works.

Beatrice is to Flamini, as is well known, a symbol of Revealed Truth; "but not on this account should we deny the historical reality of 'Monna Bice,' loved by the young Alighieri and exalted in the *Vita Nova*" [*Introduction to the study of the D. C.,* p. 2]. As to her being the daughter of Folco Portinari, he does not commit himself (cf. note on *V. N.,* xxii). That Federzoni is one of the most convinced "realists" may be inferred from the fact that he has published *La Vita di Beatrice Portinari* (Bologna, 1904); but he also holds some individual views as to the construction and interpretation of the *Vita Nuova,* and as to the evolution of Beatrice as a symbol of Religious Faith. His edition opens with the briefest preface, and a note on the structure of the *Vita Nuova.* His notes, intended for schools, set forth his views in the form of a running commentary, together with explanation of obscure passages. Many of them contain quotations, not previously printed, from lectures delivered in 1870–71 at the University of Bologna by Carducci; these quotations are often interesting, but as they represent the opinions of their day, their interest is largely sentimental. Federzoni's is the only one of the four editions which does not use Barbi's text, but prefers the *volgata.* The differences are of course not great, but it is an unfortunate mistake to use an inferior text when a better one is available. Thus in the *proemio,* Federzoni reads *assemprare,* and notes that it means *esemplare,* Barbi's reading being *asemplare;* and in the first *canzone* Federzoni has *Voi le vedete Amor pinto nel riso* (Barbi, Casini, etc., *viso*). Federzoni is also the only one of the four who does not follow Barbi's numbering of the sections: like Casini, Melodia, and Witte, he gives no number to the *proemio,* but divides Barbi's § iii into two; thus his numbering corresponds only from § iv on.[2]

Cesareo's edition, like all his work, is brilliant and interesting, but unequal. As in Scherillo's, the text is preceded by a long introduction and followed by an appendix; most of this material had already appeared elsewhere, a large part of it in the *Zeitschrift f. R. P.,* Vol. XXX (1906), although this fact is not stated. The last part of the introduction repeats statements made in the first part, and there is no good reason for separating the *nota polemica* and the two appendices from the introduction, since all discuss the same matter, —the general principles which should be followed in interpreting the *Vita Nuova,* particularly in regard to Beatrice. The editor's intention is to put the reader ("la presente edizione è in servigio delle persone colte") in possession of such preliminary information

[2] Moore's numbering agrees with Barbi's to § xxvi, which he divides into two, the following sections being accordingly numbered one higher; this difference is particularly unfortunate since Prof. Sheldon's *Concordanza* is based on Moore's text. Witte agrees with Moore in dividing § xxvi, while Casini, Melodia and Federzoni here agree with Barbi. Thus the numbering of all these editions agrees for §§ iv–xxv only.

that he can then read the text itself without distractions. The very brief and often elementary foot-notes are designed with the same purpose; in them the difficult words are explained and the Latin phrases are translated, most of the information being repeated in a *glossario* and an *indice dei passi latini* at the end of the book. The character of the notes makes this edition particularly suitable for foreign students, who will also be attracted by the clear type and general neatness of the book. Some of the notes are open to question (*e. g.*, § iii: "veduto per me medesimo = imparato da me"), and some of them, curiously enough, contradict statements in the introduction. It is evident, then, that space is wasted by repetition, and that the organic unity of the work is far from perfect; furthermore, some of the difficulties of the text are left unexplained (*e. g.*, nothing is said about the meaning of *nova* in § i). Little effort is made to show the influence of other medieval writings, few quotations being given from other works. But in spite of all its drawbacks, many of which can easily be remedied if the editor wishes, the edition is distinctly valuable as an original contribution to the study of Dante, and is also available for practical use with classes. It is announced as the first volume of a *Nuova Biblioteca Italiana* under the direction of Prof. Cesareo, and future volumes will be eagerly awaited.

If the notes in this edition are intended for beginners, the introduction on the other hand is certainly over their heads, since it presupposes not only familiarity with the *Vita Nuova* itself, but to some extent with the critical literature on the subject. Cesareo's view, in brief, makes of the *Vita Nuova* "the romance of mystical love,"—a purely fictitious narrative in so far as the events are concerned, and "real" only in its account of "the gradual ascent of the poet's soul toward an ideal of love always growing higher, whose light encloses the miraculous creature called by the poet Beatrice." He believes that Beatrice really existed, and that a few of the poems were written for her; most of them, however, particularly the three *canzoni*, were written simultaneously with the prose, at some time later than 1296.[3] Dante's plan is, then, to set forth "la progressiva rivelazione dell'angelo nella sua donna . . . e la graduale attuazione dell'intelletto possibile . . . sotto l'influsso della gentilissima." We have here, evidently, a development of the "idealistic" interpretation of the *Vita Nuova* as expounded by Bartoli, Renier,[4] and others; but one which does not necessarily exclude a belief in the reality of Dante's narrative. Indeed, the realistic, idealistic, and symbolistic interpreters have much in common, and are less definitely separated than they once were. We are not surprised to find an idealist like Cesareo or a symbolist like Flamini insisting on the real existence of Beatrice, and admitting that many incidents in the *Vita Nuova* are founded on real events; while a realist like Federzoni or D'Ancona naturally admits that Beatrice becomes both an ideal and a symbol, and that the events of the narrative are sometimes arranged and interpreted by Dante to accord with his general plan. Cesareo's violent denial that Beatrice is Folco Portinari's daughter is really quite irrelevant to the main question. If, then, all except a few extremists now admit the reality of Beatrice, at least as a basis for allegory, the main question under discussion at present is whether Dante invented, or drew from "the book of his memory" the events which he describes. One aspect of the question is this: did he write the lyrics at various times, as he asserts, afterwards linking them together with the prose; or did he write all or some of the poems simultaneously with the prose, as maintained by Earle, Cesareo and Federzoni? To the present critic it has always seemed obvious that the prose is subsequent to the poems, and contains whatever allegory there is in the *Vita Nuova;* that the

[3] This agrees in part with Federzoni's view, that the second *canzone* was written with the prose, and about 1300.

[4] Renier has welcomed Cesareo's edition as showing a reaction against the purely realistic attitude; see *Giornale Storico d. Lett. It.*, LXIII, 413–16. Cf. *Rassegna Bibliografica d. Lett. It.*, XXI, 337–47.

poet's mental attitude when he wrote the prose determined the selection, arrangement and interpretation of the poems; that the symbolism depends not on the invention of significant incidents, but on making real incidents conform to the general idea.[5] While recognizing the evolution of Dante's conception of Beatrice from the time when he wrote his first poems, through the prose of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio,* to the close of the *Divina Commedia,* students may well differ as to how far back in this process the allegory, symbolism or idealization begins. It is evident that the *V. N.* throws much light on the *D. C.,* but it is not safe to assume that the *D. C.* throws an equal amount of light on the writings that preceded it. Thus Flamini[6] declares that in the *V. N.* allegory has not yet begun, but that the "little book" lays a foundation for the allegory of the *Commedia.* The idealization of Beatrice, evident even in the sonnets, is of course not in the least inconsistent with the strictly realistic interpretation of Scherillo. Only in comparatively unessential matters—such as the identification of Beatrice—is Cesareo's view widely divergent. It is, after all, largely a question of emphasis: shall we stress the actual events, or Dante's evident intention of adapting them to a purpose? It may readily be admitted that some of the lyrics were not originally written for Beatrice,—that Dante really loved the "screen-ladies." Only critics who deny altogether the real existence of Beatrice are altogether in the wrong. There is no need of recapitulating here the well-known arguments of writers like D'Ancona, Del Lungo, Barbi, Scherillo, Moore, and many others; or of showing the subjective quality of most of the arguments on the other side. It may be added that D'Ancona's discourse on Beatrice, originally written in 1865, and recently published for the fourth time,[7] is still the classic discussion of the subject.

It would be interesting to discuss the views of the four new editors on all the unsettled problems in the *Vita Nuova;* but to do this fully would require a series of volumes. Two or three typical points may be indicated. On the phrase "la quale fu chiamata da molti Beatrice, li quali non sapeano che si chiamare (§ ii), Scherillo gives a foot-note referring to his appendix "Il nome della Beatrice." Here, beginning on page 295, he discusses the matter at great length without definitely interpreting this particular phrase. Flamini paraphrases: "Molti i quali ignoravano il nome di questa donna, pur la chiamavano 'beatrice' ponendo mente agli effetti che su loro produceva, e coglievan nel segno. *Che si chiamare:* Che nome proferire per indicarla." Federzoni: "Non sapeano quello che si chiamassero, cioè non intendevano il significato di quel nome Beatrice." Cesareo reads *che sí chiamare,* and says in his foot-note: "Luogo molto oscuro e variamente interpretato. Vuol forse dire che molti chiamavano Beatrice quella donna, ignorando fino a che punto ella meritasse quel nome;" in the *proemio,* however, p. xiv, he says: "non sapeano *che cosa, qual' altra cosa,* chiamar così . . . non conoscendo alcuna creatura più degna d'esser così dimandata," and again, p. il: "espressione rimasta enigmatica e in cui Dante chi sa quale simbolo avesse chiuso."

[5] Cf. J. B. Fletcher, *The Allegory of the "Vita Nuova,"* in *Modern Philology,* XI, p. 19 (1913): "Assuming the reality of Beatrice and of Dante's love story, I may contend that, having later realized the moral effect of his experience, he 'moralized' the record of his experience. . . . Out of a considerable body of occasional poems Dante may have selected those which a connecting and explanatory prose by inreading of meanings not at first intended, by taking advantage of ambiguous words, by tacit interpolation in recapitulation, and by new facts or circumstances related—might adjust to an *ex post facto* allegory." Prof. Fletcher's ingenious working out of this idea is based on the assumption that the allegory of the *V.N.* conveys "a message substantially identical with that of the *Divina Commedia.*"

[6] See his review of Cochin in *Rassegna Bibliografica d. Lett. Ital.,* XVII, 9 (1909). Cochin, in the Introduction to his translation of the *V.N.* (1908), maintains that Amore means virtue, that Beatrice means beatitude, etc. He accepts, however, the real existence of Beatrice as the daughter of Folco Portinari.

[7] A. D'Ancona, *Scritti danteschi,* Firenze [1913], in which the author's writings on Dante (including some of the valuable notes in his edition of the *Vita Nuova*) are collected and brought up to date.

Scherillo explains "involta mi parea in uno drappo sanguigno leggeramente" (§ iii) as meaning "involta leggeramente in uno drappo sanguigno" (cf. § ix), and Federzoni agrees with this; Flamini, however, paraphrases: "un lenzuolo colorato lievemente di rosso," and Cesareo has no note on the phrase. In regard to the puzzling sentence "Ego tanquam centrum circuli," etc. (§ xii),[8] Scherillo quotes opportunely from *Convivio* IV, 16, and explains: "io sono nobile . . . cioè perfetto; ma tu, Dante, no, o non ancora!" Flamini does not refer to this passage of the *Conv.*, although it is included in his selections (p. 203); but he gives a philosophic explanation: "Io (*diritto amore*) sono come il centro del circolo . . . perchè ogni termine di qualsiasi moto spirituale che s'origini da me (*centro*), è rispetto a me in un identico rapporto, determinato da quella che . . . è ne' desiderî la misura della rettitudine. Ma tu," etc. Federzoni and Cesareo explain the passage as a figure of speech; Federzoni says that, as in a circle there is only one point in perfect (equal) relationship to the circumference, so when love departs from what is right and true it ceases to be noble. Cesareo: "Con le quali parole Amore rinfaccia a Dante che non s'adoperi a conseguire la perfezione simboleggiata nel circolo." Evidently there is still room for sifting, comparing and combining existing commentaries in order to have anything like a definitive annotated edition.[9]

In conclusion, I should like to rise to a question of personal privilege, if that is the parliamentary term. The last section of Scherillo's book, pp. 363–77, "La Forma architettonica della *Vita Nuova*," is reprinted with slight changes from the *Giornale Dantesco,* IX (1901); its purpose is to show that the symmetrical arrangement of the poems as expounded by Charles Eliot Norton, and accepted by various other writers, is a delusion; or at least that if there is any symmetry, it results purely from chance, not from Dante's plan. To this article I replied in 1903,[10] tracing the history of the question and attempting to prove the soundness of Norton's theory. It would be wearisome to repeat the demonstration here: I could only reiterate my belief that Scherillo's arguments leave the essential features of the proposition entirely untouched.[11] Scherillo adds a *poscritto* (pp. 373–77) in which he comments interestingly on the historical part of my article, and remarks that I am constrained to reduce the alleged symmetry to this:[12] "Twenty-eight short poems arranged symmetrically around three *canzoni,* which are in every way written on a different scale from the rest;" he continues that "this much of symmetry" seems to him to be "affatto insignificante, e non franchi la spesa delle stiracchiature e delle concessioni che esso richiede." This statement is misleading; the "reduced" symmetry referred to does not require any "stiracchiature" or "concessioni" whatsoever, but is perfectly patent to any one who makes out a list of the poems,—10 short poems: Canzone I: 4 short poems: Canzone II: 4 short poems: Canzone III: 10 short poems. This *is* a symmetrical arrangement, whatever may be said to the contrary, and the only legiti-

[8] Cf. J. B. Fletcher, *The Oracle of Love,* in *The Nation,* Dec. 16, 1909.

[9] Another recent edition may be mentioned here which reprints Barbi's text, but otherwise has no scholarly value; it is Vol. VIII in Serie I of a collection called *Classici Italiani* (Milano, Istituto Editoriale Italiano),—a volume of 347 pages, attractively printed and bound, containing also Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* and the *Convivio.* There are a few harmless foot-notes selected from other editions. The price is lire 2.25.

[10] *The Symmetrical Structure of Dante's Vita Nuova,* in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* XVIII, 341–55.

[11] This is the opinion of E. G. Parodi, in *Bullettino d. Soc. Dant. Ital.,* XI, 109–10; G. Picciola, *La Vita Nuova di D. A.,* in *Le Opere Minori* (Lectura Dantis), Firenze, 1906, p. 102; G. Manacorda, in *Rassegna Bibliog. d. Lett. Ital.,* XII, 177; G. Federzoni, in *Giornale Dantesco,* X, 3, and in the edition of the *V.N.,* p. x; Pio Rajna, in *Romania,* XXXIV, 149.

[12] P. 348 of my article. F. Maggini, reviewing Scherillo in *Bullettino d. S. D. It.,* XIX, 118, remarks similarly: "In fin de' conti, egli finisce col contentarsi di una ben ridotta simmetria." Not at all; I believe the symmetry goes much further, but this minimum seemed no longer open to argument.

mate question would be whether, as Scherillo thinks, it is purely accidental.[13] Considering the other elements of symmetry in this book where every effect is carefully calculated, and considering that there was not one chance in a thousand of so much symmetry as even this minimum being hit upon unintentionally, I agree with Federzoni that to deny Dante's intention is "proprio senza senso." This does not in itself involve any particular system of interpreting the book. Personally, I do not care for the term "forma architettonica," and I think that the idea of symmetry is pushed too far by some writers. But on the other hand, the fact that it was observed by visionaries like Rossetti and Aroux does not *necessarily* prove, as Scherillo implies (p. 376), that the whole proposition is visionary. It is noteworthy that Cesareo, without mentioning the symmetrical arrangement, speaks of the predominance of the three *canzoni* in words similar to those of Rossetti.[14] The critics who agree in this matter with Scherillo—except Scherillo himself, who has treated me most courteously—do not appear to have taken the trouble to read my paper and weigh my arguments.[15] I venture to hope that, since through the publication of Scherillo's admirable edition the matter has again been brought forward, the facts in the case will become generally recognized, and the symmetrical structure of the *Vita Nuova* will be permitted to enlighten us as to various problems connected with this book, and as to Dante's method of composition.

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[13] I am totally unable to comprehend Cochin's note (*op. cit.*, p. vi): "Quelques critiques, et notamment des Américains, ont pensé pouvoir attribuer au livre une architecture méthodique . . . on rencontrerait [!] d'abord dix poèmes courts—puis une grande chanson," etc. Does the French critic doubt the figures?

[14] Cesareo, *op. cit.*, p. xv: "Nelle tre grandi canzoni che, quasi colonne centrali, sostengon l'armonioso edifizio della *Vita Nuova*," ecc.; cf. p. xxxix. Quotations from Rossetti in my article and in Scherillo's *poscritto*.

[15] F. Flamini, reviewing Cochin in the *Rassegna Bibliog. d. Lett. Ital.*, XVII, 7, remarks: "Giustamente, proseguendo, il Cochin s'associa allo Scherillo nell'escludere lo schematismo, l' 'architettura metodica' attribuita alla *Vita Nuova* da taluni critici, specialmente americani." See notes 11, 13 and 14, above. The only Americans who have written on this subject, so far as I know, are Prof. Norton and myself. Zingarelli, *Dante*, p. 729 (1903, before the publication of my paper), decided that Scherillo "ha finalmente dimostrato assurdo lo schema simmetrico escogitato da C. E. Norton." Melodia, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii, cites my paper, but appears not to have read it, since he proposes as his own discovery the second scheme of division which I, following Prof. Norton, had carefully explained (to say nothing of Federzoni). Melodia does not definitely declare his opinion: "Nessuno dei disegni escogitati appare così regolare o così chiaro da togliere il dubbio che Dante ad esso abbia pensato."

English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1642–1780). By GEORGE HENRY NETTLETON. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914.

This work, of over three hundred pages exclusive of bibliography and index, forms our first exhaustive study of English dramatic literature for the years between 1642 and 1780. Though Sir A. W. Ward and Mr. Gosse have both done valuable work on eighteenth century drama, the unpleasant nature as well as the mediocrity of many plays within the period has discouraged most critics. Professor Nettleton in his work has depended at times upon the criticisms of his distinguished predecessors, but he also has added much to their researches.

The plan of the work is historical, with a grouping of plays and authors chiefly according to the types of drama successively in vogue. A brief sketch of the relations existing between Elizabethan and Restoration drama reveals at the outset Professor Nettleton's interest in the English elements of our drama as distinct from various foreign influences. In view of the usual assumption that after 1660 English

drama drew largely upon continental originals, this new angle of approach lends an added interest to the work. Following this preliminary chapter with some facts regarding the dramatic affairs of the Commonwealth, Professor Nettleton then proceeds in successive chapters to give accounts of the various forms in vogue down to 1780. In some instances changes in current opinion, such as the events leading to the Licensing Act, supply topics for chapter headings, but usually the plays discussed are centered about the influence of a few dramatists in the development of a type.

The writers presented thus have not, however, received exhaustive study. Full lists of their works are not given, but only such biographical details as have a relation to the type of drama under discussion. This form of exposition has been made familiar through the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* where its merits and defects are most apparent. In Professor Nettleton's work one might wish that such figures as Colley Cibber and Aaron Hill had been treated more fully for the sake of a clearer account of theatrical conditions; for such information one must depend upon casual references. In the case of such well-known figures as Congreve, Steele, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, no such complaint can be made, for the familiar facts regarding their plays are well fitted into the review of the entire period. Particular praise, too, is due the chapter on Etherege and Wycherley for the careful estimate made of these secondary figures. If one is dissatisfied with the sketchy form of the brief studies of many minor dramatists, he may well remember that the clearness of the whole depends largely upon such suppression of the unessentials.

Professor Nettleton offers some new views on several stock topics of discussion. He sees in Francis Quarles' *The Virgin Widow* (printed 1649) a new claimant for the honor of having introduced rimed verse into the drama of the century, but he still credits Dryden with the establishment of the vogue. A more important contribution to criticism lies in the suggestion concerning one source for sentimental comedy. The author sees in the comedies of Steele and of his successors in this field an imitation of the emotional appeal that existed earlier in the "tragedies of pity" written by Otway and Southerne. A plausible case is made out for this influence of a dramatic type upon another kind of play, and in this source-work Professor Nettleton has made his best point for English materials in English drama in place of supposed continental originals. A similar plea might be made for the influence of the "love-and-honor" debates of heroic tragedy upon sentimental comedy, for though the older type is more vigorous in its emotional appeal, it is equally analytical. The form of appeal is surely similar, but perhaps the relationship is less apparent than in the other instances. At least Professor Nettleton's suggestion has opened the way for a new study of the origins of sentimental comedy as a type owing much to earlier English drama.

But it is in the denial of a strong French influence upon early Restoration drama that the author departs most decisively from older criticism. In considering the Restoration drama, Professor Nettleton's method has been to enforce the relationships known to exist between Elizabethan and Restoration drama by asserting that Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher were far more influential fundamentally than Corneille and Racine. He effectively presents an account of the drolls of the Interregnum as one proof of an uninterrupted English tradition, and his conclusions are most reasonable.

Some matters of interest have possibly received less consideration than one desires in a work of literary history. For instance, would it have been impossible, following Dr. Ward's example, to give terse summaries of the most important plots? Such summaries appear in the text occasionally, but in the case of plays so rarely read—and often so unfit for reading—one wishes that this aid had been granted more freely to the casual student. At least full plot outlines might well have been given of typical plays; one could then get definite notions concerning the qualities of reformed, "humor," and sentimental comedies without close reading of several plays. Even the ad-

vanced student would have welcomed such summaries of plots that are often vague and unwieldy. If other additions would not have made an unduly large work, one would have appreciated separate chapters on the history of the theatres and dramatic companies, as well as much more fact regarding the importance of stage properties in an eighteenth century play-house. Undoubtedly these topics are in themselves broad enough for separate studies, as are such topics as the political dramas of the thirties, or the runs of pantomime, opera, and burlesque. Much of this extraneous material can be found in Watson Nicholson's *The Struggle for a Free Stage in London,* and in a recent book on Aaron Hill by Miss Dorothy Brewster; but the general survey still remains unwritten. Undoubtedly Professor Nettleton himself possesses much unpublished information on the circumstances of dramatic production during the eighteenth century, so that further studies may follow his present publication.

The net result of reading this valuable study is a feeling that much more must be done before authoritative opinions can be expected on matters of secondary interest. In the words of the author, one admits that "convenient generalizations must not be mistaken for fixed laws governing dramatic development," and it is through incisive attack upon some of these groundless generalizations that Professor Nettleton has done excellent service. His uniform refusal to generalize too freely from his own conclusions gives his work an authority that it could have gained in no other fashion, and it is for such conservatism as well as for stimulating suggestions concerning sources that one must consider this study of importance. Moreover, the brief critical bibliographies will furnish fit guidance for students beginning work in the period.

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French Prophets of Yesterday: A Study of Religious Thought under the Second Empire, by Albert Léon Guérard. New York, Appleton, 1913. 288 pp.

An excellent piece of work! The plan of Professor Guérard's book has been well conceived, and as well executed. A study of the most important period of French literature of the nineteenth century in the light of its religious history, or rather, evolution, it has both an historical and a philosophical value. In answering the question, "Why is the anti-religious spirit predominant in France to-day?" the author analyses the religious tendencies and evolution of representative writers, whom he groups, adopting the three states of Comte, under the standards of theology, metaphysics, and positivism. He has focussed his attention on the period of twenty-two years (1851–1871) during which Louis Napoleon, as president and emperor, was the ruler of France, a period of which it is possible to give an historical survey, because it is far enough removed from us for the principles involved not to be obscured by the smoke of controversy.

Having stated the problem and its possible solution, the author devotes a liberal allowance of space to the Catholic writers. Few and insignificant factors in literature as they are, they were as a house divided, on account of the fatal part politics exercised on the religious life of France under the second empire, when the pass-word among the orthodox Catholics was "absolutism in politics, and infallibility in religion." The present political situation in France is only one of many examples of the reaction which comes as a result of the unholy pact between church and state. Professor Guérard undertakes to explain the present hostile intellectual and spiritual attitude. In his analysis of Catholic writers of such varied tendencies and temperaments as Baudelaire, Maret, Gratry, Hello, Veuillot and Montalembert, he shows how they were rewarded and condemned by their ecclesiastical superiors in proportion to their fervidness for the cause of Ultramontanism and against a compromise with

modern thought. A church which exalted the untruthful rabidness of the ignorant and superstitious Veuillot, and stamped as infamous the compromises of the cultivated Montalembert and the broad-minded Gratry, was bound to lose even its moral prestige, in a community in which education became the first order of the day.

It was unfortunate for doctrinal religion that the Roman church failed in its mission, as Protestantism had never struck its roots very deep in French soil. Of the three writers discussed by Professor Guérard, only Guizot remained orthodox. By the use he made of his power to drive out the liberal wing of his own church, and by his readiness to join hands with Ultramontanism in suppressing free thought everywhere, he only succeeded in antagonizing a party of his own co-religionists, and, as much a doctrinaire in religion as in politics and in history, his reactionary *Méditations* repelled the intellectuals, who admired and imitated him as a historian. If Scherer and Quinet commenced as Protestants, that individualism of thought which is the essence of Protestantism led to free thought in the case of the one, and to an impossible compromise of religion and philosophy in the case of the other. The springs of moral and social action for the future had to be sought elsewhere than in the two opposing theological schools.

However high places as critics and literary men may be assigned to Doudan, Lanfrey, About and Mérimée, the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century, which they represented, cannot be reckoned as a social force in the nineteenth century, even if it was galvanized into life for twenty years, as a consequence of the victory within the church of Ultramontanism and its accompanying superstitions. Its totally destructive tendency, which led to the literary nihilism of Mérimée, did not satisfy the aspirations of the growing generation, who had a chance to listen to a broader and more sympathetic philosophy. This, the combination of a deep patriotic spirit, of a passionate longing for social justice, of a feeling of the necessity of using humanity's religious energy without the constraints of a narrow ritualism, led Romanticism to pass from its first attitude of individualism, pessimism, and conservatism, to a later attitude of humanitarianism, optimism, and of progress. This evolution is best exemplified in its two greatest exponents, the supreme French poet Victor Hugo, and one of the few masters of French prose style, Michelet.

But with the fall of the second French republic with all its hopes of making the philosophy of humanitarianism a practice of life, that philosophy lost its power of attraction, and its idealistic system was slowly but surely replaced by a philosophy of realism, the growth of an historical and scientific spirit. This new philosophy did not attempt to give a definite answer to teleological questions, and did not particularly concern itself with them; it did not proclaim itself as a gospel, bringing tidings of great joy; but its continued success in settling important questions from the point of view of relativism and history, were so many blows towards destroying any absolute and doctrinal systems, clerical or not. While the forces of theology have fought a losing fight since its first encounter with this new scientific spirit, the leaders of the humanitarians recognized its supremacy, if they were not able to adopt its methods. This positivist movement, a constructive philosophy with a background of spiritual faith, as prefigured in the Orphic sayings of Saint-Simon and formulated by Comte, was the source from which Proudhon drew inspiration and material to instil new elements into the exhausted creed of socialism. In poetry it is best represented by the later poetry of Alfred de Vigny, where one finds a feeling of human solidarity with a sentiment of the "majesty of human suffering," evolved from the youthful egoistical resignation of the early work of the poet, and in the more impersonal poetry of Leconte de Lisle, whose ideal was the attainment of truth through science and its discoveries. But if in the work of these poets one finds an interpretation of the aims and results of the new spirit, the richest of these results were due to the new

direction given to historical and literary studies, of which the most eminent exponents were Sainte-Beuve, Taine and Renan. If Sainte-Beuve and Taine are grouped together by Professor Guérard, it is for the sake of contrast, and not on account of any resemblance in their temperaments or in their religious evolution, which were as diverse as their critical methods and results. Sainte-Beuve, who confessed "J'ai fait un peu de mythologie chrétienne en mon temps," after passing through what he called a long course in moral physiology, in his last years stepped out boldly into the field as a warm defender of free thought; while Taine, who commenced his teaching career by paying in full the penalty for his boldness in shattering the idols of official Christian eclecticism, ended by being adopted as the champion of all that was retrogressive in French thought and politics, a result due to his own inelastic philosophic formulae, and to the personal shock of the excesses of the Commune. To no other writer does Professor Guérard give so much space as he devotes to Renan, in whom he finds a living synthesis of his nation and of his time, in whom the most diverse tendencies are represented, if not harmonised. In him one finds at once the humble and sympathetic moralist and the intellectual aristocrat, the aesthetic sybarite and the laborious savant, the hopeful idealist and the conscientious positivist. Such are the leaders of thought who inspired the school of positive doctrines to which have been subjected the generations of Frenchmen who have grown up under the Third Republic. Those generations have been cheered with idealism if not with optimism, and that idealism has been and is anti-religious, with no promise of a change in its tendency for the future as far as can be seen.

Such are the general intent and results of this book, which the author has written to show the English among whom he has been educated, and the Americans among whom he has elected to live, the reason of the present religious status of France. One can not only agree with his philosophic conclusions, and approve of the tone, reverent yet liberal, with which he treats his subject, but also commend his delicate literary appreciation and the acute characterization of his authors and their work. I can only note a few instances of the excellence of his interpretations. It is a pleasure to find an adequate judgment of the work of Proudhon, who is generally considered such a negligible quantity in the history of French thought that a contemporary empirical critic of nineteenth-century literature refers to him as "the agitator Proudhon." English and American critics, adopting a view only too gladly nourished by French clericals, have attacked Renan on account of the hedonistic advice which in his last years he gave to the growing generation. Professor Guérard reinforces the correct explanation, set forth by Lemaître twenty years ago, that it was the very fact that he had to his credit a life of forty years of unremitted labor, of spotless integrity and purity, that made the great scholar fear he would seem a prig if he dogmatised on moral conduct. Professor Guérard is just as happy in his passing evaluation of a minor figure as in his analysis of the leaders. To call Cousin "a unique mixture of the Philistine, the mountebank, and the prophet" is a perfect tribute.

At two or three points one could wish that the outline had been filled in a little fuller. For instance, Michelet's religious evolution is surely interesting enough to trace instead of leaving it to be assumed; the scientific background of Leconte de Lisle's philosophy, of which the pessimistic quality is perhaps too much emphasized, should have been sketched in more detail. There are a few statements of fact which need correction. Thus, in discussing the sources of romanticism the statement is made: "Long before the publication of Michelet's amusing and highly romantic *Sorcière* (1862), the alliance of demon-worship and debauchery in witchcraft was a commonplace of popular history" (p. 36). Now this combination of crimes was invented or adopted by ecclesiastical inquisitors in their campaign against the heresies of the fourteenth century, was continued as one of the articles of accusations against the victims of heresy and

witchcraft trials for nearly four centuries, and has survived in popular tradition to the present day. Michelet's account of this baneful conception, in his indictment of a cruel delusion, can hardly be accounted a source of romanticism. In stating that "Maret escaped formal censure and died an archbishop" (p. 59, n.), Professor Guérard forgets that Pio Nono vetoed his nomination to the see of Vannes, and that he was only bishop *in partibus*. But such omissions and slips do not detract from the prime value of this original, sane and informing book.

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JACOBITE LYRICS

During the years in which Peter Buchan was gathering material for his various publications, many songs came to hand which he did not see fit to print. Some of these were probably the work of James Rankine, and were therefore excluded from the collections. Others, which Buchan prepared for the press even to the point of writing explanatory notes, he cancelled for no discoverable reason.

Two such songs, which Buchan certainly did not print, and which I have been unable to find in any published collection, I append in the form in which they appear in Buchan's MS. I have copied them from one of the Harvard College Library Buchan MSS., H. C. L. no. 25241.10, which is itself an exact copy of the original in the British Museum. The first song appears to be anonymous, but the second is assigned to the Reverend John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum." Both songs are in the second volume of the MS., on pages 327 and 452.

THE WHITE HARE OF CULLODEN

Charley Stewart and his men, they stood in a row,
The hare she ran thro' them and away she did go.
They all fired at her, but the hare, she said, no,
As she ran for her life in the morning.

But the hare she lay down and fell o'er on her back,
When the prince he saw it, his visage turn'd black,
He said to his men, we may a' turn back,
For we'll a' lose our lives in the morning.

And Oh! said his nobles, but where can we flee,
For we are surrounded by land and by sea,
It's Oh! Charley Stewart had we never seen thee,
For we'll a' lose our lives in the morning.

And Oh! said his nobles, our portion's but sma',
Our horses and lands they are forfeited a',
Our wives and our children they're a' forc'd awa',
And we'll a' lose our lives in the morning.

I wat Charley Stewart you've dane's a mischance
No to bring ony men over frae France,
But lead us poor highlandmen sic a mad dance,
For we're a' sure to die in the morning.

Then in the next morning when daylight came on,
On the field of Culloden, the fight did begin,
And wae's me our highland lads forc'd were to rin,
Or bide an' be shot in the morning.

YOUNG EDWARD THE PRINCE

Rev'd John Skinner

Tune, *The Brow of the Hill*

In Paris, fair town, lived great Gallia's lord,
Rever'd by his neighbours, by his subjects ador'd,
Whose fleets and whose armies great wonders had wrought,
And spread terror and triumph wherever they fought.
Wide kingdoms obey'd the proud victor's command,
And obey'd the great grandson of Lewis-a-Grand.

Young Edward the Prince, of Stewarts' old race,
Who could conquer with meekness, and suffer with grace,
He would oft times appear at the monarch's gay court
And depended on France for a kingly support.
His aid he oft claimed as his father had done
To restore him again to his ancestor's throne.

The monarch consented, and promis'd, and vow'd,
By all that was great, by all that was good,
To assist the young Edward, thus forward and bold,
With the choice of his forces, and half of his gold,
And now all his subjects expected once more
To see him again on Britannia's shore.

But as soon as Hanover and Lewis were friends
Then honour and justice must yield to his ends,
The monarch as false as the tempest that blows
Forgets all his former engagements and vows.
And now the young Edward was falsely beray'd
Must leave the French Kingdom, elsewhere to seek aid.

Take heed ye brave heroes of Britain's fair isle,
How ye trust in French faith in your present exile,
For the French they are fickle, and guineas are strong
And may tempt even Christian Kings to do wrong.
Then rely not on Lewis for help nor defence,
But remember the fate of Young Edward the Prince.

(From the author's handwriting.—P. B.)

Both these songs are undoubtedly retrospective productions, and belong rather to the time of Burns and Hogg than to the actual period of the Forty-five.

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Additional Note on *The Miller and his Sons*

Soon after the appearance of my brief article on *The Miller and his Sons* in *Modern Language Notes,* November, 1913, Mr. Alfred Ela, of Boston, called my attention to a version of the same song printed in the "Notes and Queries" of the *Boston Transcript,* October 3, 1908. This version was from Bell's *Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England* (London, 1857). References were given to two other versions, one in Baring Gould's *Songs and Ballads of the West,* the other in *Roxburghe Ballads,* III, 681 (Vol. XXXVI of the *Ballad Society Publications,* p. 611). On consulting these books I found that the version in *Roxburghe Ballads* was reprinted from a white letter copy dating from about 1730, and that Baring Gould referred to another version in *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1882). I have found still another version "taken down from recitation" by D. Macphail, and printed February 6, 1869, in *Notes and Queries,* Series IV, Vol. III, p. 129.

A comparison of all these versions with the one given by Celia Thaxter shows that either she or her ballad singer on the Isles of Shoals had shortened and changed the song, although the outline of the story, the answers of the first and second sons, and many phrases throughout, remain the same.

The dying miller says that his "glass" is "almost run" in the versions of the song given by Celia Thaxter, Baring Gould, and Macphail. This is also a variant reading in the *Roxburghe Ballads.* But the preferred reading there, and the only one in the versions in Bell and in the *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* is, "My life is almost run."

In Celia Thaxter's conclusion, the miller "*shot* up his eyes and died in peace." In the *Roxburghe Ballads* he "clos'd up his eyes and dy'd." In Bell's version and in the *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* he "turned up his toes and died." In Baring Gould's form "He laugh'd, gave up the ghost, and died." In Macphail's version his death is not described.

Celia Thaxter's is the only version to give a name to the youngest son. In the other versions the youngest son's answer runs approximately, "I'll take it all and forswear the sack." The position of "all" in the middle of the line makes it seem improbable that the original version had Mrs. Thaxter's rime of "Paul" and "all," and yet hers is the obvious way of making the third answer parallel the first and second. The present state of our knowledge would warrant a reversal of the conjecture in my previous article, where I said that Pope's rime might be due to a recollection of this song. On the contrary, Mrs. Thaxter's version may owe something to Pope. Yet it is not impossible that Mrs. Thaxter has preserved an original feature of the song which has been lost in the other versions mentioned above. It is noticeable that the only other marked variation among the different versions is also at the end, where the Macphail version brings in "the grain of mooter" and loses the rime with "sack."

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A Note on Chaucer's Adam

The well-known lines of Chaucer in which he calls down the plagues upon the head of Adam 'his owne scriveyn'[1] and Petrarch's letter to a friend lamenting the conditions of copying,[2] might lead one to assume that all copyists of that day were alike. There is preserved, however, a contemporary record which indicates that honesty had not yet been whipped out of the trade. In 1403 the "reputable men of the Craft of Writers of Text-letter, those commonly called 'Limners,'[3] and other good folks, citizens of London, who were wont to bind and to sell books," petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen that "they may elect yearly two reputable men, the one a *Lymenour,* the other a Text-Writer (*escriveyn text*[4]), to be Wardens of the said trades." These Wardens are "diligently to oversee, that good rule and governance is had and exercised by all folks of the same trades . . . pertaining, to the praise and good fame of the loyal good men of the said trades, and *to the shame and blame of the bad and disloyal men of the same.*"[5] From time to time the Wardens may present to the Chamberlain (at the Guildhall) "the defaults of the said bad and disloyal men; . . . to the end that the same may there, according to the wise and prudent discretion of the governors of the said city, be corrected, punished, and duly redressed." Because "it concerned the common weal and profit," the petition was unanimously granted.[6] Unfortunately, Chaucer did not live to enjoy this new lease of honesty.

Among the complaints mentioned by Petrarch one was the laziness of the copyists. From Chaucer's lines we infer that Adam's sins were quite different. Indeed they sound so modern that they might have been addressed to a professional workman of the twentieth century. Why the haste on Adam's part Chaucer does not take the pains to tell us. Possibly he didn't know, but perhaps the following interesting will of a London scrivener (made in 1371) may throw some light. At all events, it will be stimulating.

Geoffrey Patrik, "scryveyn,"[7] desires to be buried "in the churchyard of S. Mary's Chapel in the new churchyard near Smethefeld." He leaves bequests "to the said chapel, and to the church of S. Michael de Paternostercherche and ministers therein." To two sons he makes pecuniary bequests, also to three daughters (one of whom was an idiot),[8] his apprentice,[9] a chaplain, a friar hermit "at the place called 'le Swannesnest' near the Tower," a recluse monk near the Tower, another friar hermit and his two companions; "also to each of the four orders of friars, the three colleges of lepers near London." To his family he leaves a tenement "in the parish of St. Giles." To his wife the custody of the children as long as she remains unmarried, "also twenty pounds sterling by way of dower of his movable goods,

[1] Emerson, too, laments that correctness is very rare. "I am sure no author believes that any reader of his verses will copy them accurately." *Journals,* 1856–1863 (Boston, 1913), pp. 398–399.

[2] Quoted by Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer* (Boston, 1906), pp. 69–70.

[3] Illuminators (see *Letter-Book I,* p. 25).

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 26. The *Lymenours* had had a mistery before this time (*Ibid. H,* pp. 389, 403). They now seem to have joined with the scriveners.

[5] Italics are mine. The rebellious are to be punished according to an ordinance passed in 1364 (*Letter-Book G,* p. 174) affecting all undesirables in the different trades of the city, that is fine and imprisonment.

[6] Arber, *A Transcript of the Stationers' Registers* (London, 1875), Vol. I, p. xxiii. First printed by Riley in his *Memorials of London* (pp. 557 f.). A summary by Sharpe in *Letter-Book I* (*Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London,* London, 1909), pp. 25 f. Cf. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1875), p. 472.

[7] Elsewhere he is mentioned as a "clerk of *la Riole*" (*Calendar of Wills, Court of Hustings,* ed. Sharpe, London, 1889–1890. 2 Parts. Part II, p. 35). He was also a clerk to Cecilia Rose, "relict of Thomas Rose, clerk." (*Ibid.,* p. 228.)

[8] *Letter-Book H,* pp. 430–1. A guardian appointed for her and her property "in the parish of St. Giles without Crepulgate."

[9] Adam?

her entire chamber, and all beds, linen and woollen clothes, vessels, etc." The "residue of his goods" is to be divided—one part to go to his wife and the other "to be devoted to pious and charitable uses."[10] A pretty formidable list of worldly goods in addition to having reared a family of five.[11] Was it accumulated through haste or were the copyists well paid?

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BRIEF MENTION

The *Cartulario de Don Felipe III Rey de Francia,* publicado por D. Mariano Arigita y Lasa (Madrid, Sucesores de Hernando, 1913, 8vo., vii + 159 pp.)[1] deserves mention here on account of its two French and seven Aragonese documents, the remaining 157 being Latin. The codex is preserved in the Archivo General de Navarra (in Pamplona) and consists of royal letters of the years 1274–1279, to which the edition has added several documents of the same period. The editorial work leaves something to be desired. The editor has ignored completely the publication of Brutails (*Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre,* Paris, 1890), a comparison with which reveals variations in the title of the *Cartulario* and in the measurements of the manuscript. Furthermore, Brutails' study of the MS. is much more detailed than that of Arigita, and describes the characteristic handwriting of folios 16–23 as of the second half of the thirteenth century. Arigita notes that "los dos amanuenses eran algo imperitos en la lengua latina," but he makes no mention of the linguistic atrocities of the two French documents (nos. 25 and 112), the first of which is unintelligible in its printed form: we can but guess, for example, that *nainez* may be 'nauez'; *issix,* 'issir'; *que lau face mil custrages,* 'que l'an face nul ultrage.' The Aragonese texts make a much more favorable impression, though we wonder somewhat at *que* (p. 72, l. 11), *veiendo* (114, 21), *or* (115, 5 and 7), *todrian* (115, 4), *io* (115, 5), *sayeyllada, sayeylla* (115, 11), *Mont pant* (127, 11). The work is accompanied by historical and geographical commentaries, and an index of proper names.

[10] *Calendar of Wills,* etc. Part II, pp. 147–8.

[11] He had had another son (*Ibid.,* p. 35) who probably had died.

[1] Junta para Ampliación de Estudios é Investigaciones Científicas. Sección de Estudios Históricos.

German lexicography has always played the step-mother towards *Fremdwörter.* The current *Fremdwörterbücher,* such as that of Heyse, attempt little more than to give a German definition of more or less technical foreign terms. *Fremdwörter* as such were entirely excluded from Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* and of more recent dictionaries on a professedly historical basis only the new Weigand has admitted any considerable number of them. The tracing of the history of a *Fremdwort* has hence almost invariably been attended with difficulties far greater than those encountered in the case of words of native stock. There is, accordingly, ample reason for welcoming the first volume (A–K) of a new *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* by Hans Schulz (Strassburg, Trübner, 1913; 8vo., xxiii + 416 pp., b'd. M. 9.—) which is calculated to fill this gap. Schulz, who is a pupil of Kluge, treats only those foreign words that are generally current in the German of to-day. Strictly technical expressions and words now obsolete are disregarded. The first of these limitations will meet with general approval, and from the second there was also no escape in a work of the present compass. Within these limits the material has been collected and treated with extreme care. How large a field has been covered is indicated by the more than five hundred titles listed under the head of *Quellen,* all of these texts having been excerpted for the purposes of the dictionary. If any general criticism be in place, it is perhaps that no account should have been taken of pronunciation (including accent) or grammatical form. Thus one is frequently left in doubt as to the form, or indeed the existence, of a plural. The illustrative quotations are ample in number, and are presented in a most convenient way, each being accompanied by the date and the exact reference. The make-up of the book is exceptionally good.

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